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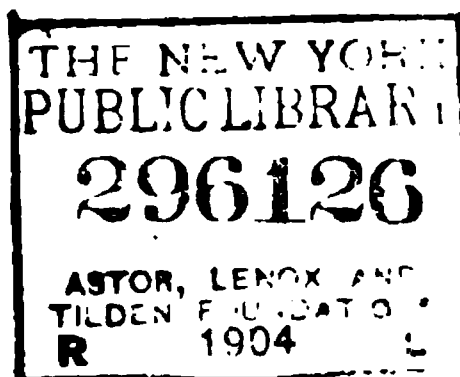
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Journal
OF THE
Architectural, Archæological,
AND
Historic Society
For the County and the City of Chester,
and North Wales

New Series—Vol. VIII.

Printed for the Society
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1902
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NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

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The Catalogue of Roman Inscribed Stones, by Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A., which has been issued to Members, is intended to form the Seventh Volume of these Transactions.

The Annual Subscription is now 10'6; all Members being entitled to any publication issued by the Society.

The Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society desire it to be known that the Authors of any Papers printed in the Society's Journal are alone responsible for the statements or opinions contained in such Papers.

*This Volume has been edited by the Hon. Editorial Secretary
Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A.*

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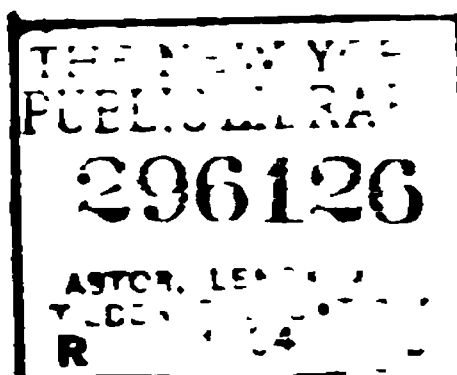
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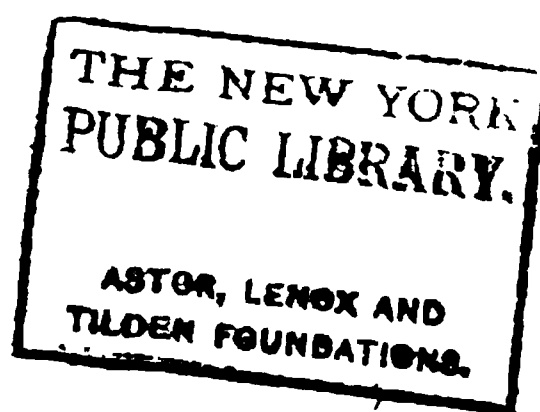
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Table of Contents

Frontispiece—OLD HOUSE, LOWER BRIDGE STREET,
CHESTER, A.D. 1603.

	PAGE	PLATE
COTES MONUMENT, ONCE SET UP IN ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, CHESTER By Rev. Canon S. Cooper Scott, M.A.	5	.. 1
A DEFENCE OF THE LIBERTIES OF CHESTER, 1450 By Henry Dawes Harrod, F.S.A.	18	.. —
A SHORT EPITOME OF A PAPER ON PLEMSTALL PARISH CHURCH By Rev. W. S. Johns	45	.. 2
THE CHESTER ROWS By Henry Dawes Harrod, F.S.A.	48	.. 3, 4
THE NAVE ROOF OF THE CHURCH OF S. MARY- ON-THE-HILL By The Ven. E. Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester	67	.. 5—11
A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF ROMAN AND OTHER OBJECTS RECOVERED FROM VARIOUS SITES IN CHESTER AND DISTRICT, 1898—1901 By R. Newstead, A.L.S., &c. (12 figs. in text)	81	.. 12—14
AN EXTENDED LIST OF POTTERS' STAMPS ON THE RED-GLAZED ROMAN WARE (POPULARLY KNOWN AS SAMIAN) FOUND AT CHESTER; WITH THE CHIEF FORMS OF STAMPING, BRIEFLY CLASSIFIED By Frank H. Williams (4 figs. in text)	107	.. —
EARLY LEAD MINERS BROUGHT FROM THE HIGH PEAK TO WORK IN FLINTSHIRE By Henry Taylor, F.S.A.	112	.. —
ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1899-1900	115	.. 15
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	122	.. —
THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT	124	.. —
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st, 1900	126	.. —
ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1900—1901	127	.. —
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	132	.. —
THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT	134	.. —
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31st, 1901	136	.. —
LIST OF MEMBERS, 1901	137	.. —
INDEX	142	.. —



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Monument: once set up in St. John's Church, Chester

REV. CANON S. COOPER SCOTT, M.A.

(Read January 23rd, 1900)

AMONGST a quantity of old papers, account books, scraps, and memoranda, belonging to a former Vicar, and handed to me by the Clerk of St. John's, was a sheet of paper about six inches square, which was in such a state of decay that it was difficult to preserve it. This I did by attaching it to a sheet of paper, so arranged as to hide the writing on the back of the document. This document is the design of an Elizabethan Monument which was once erected in St. John's Church; but it contains not only the design (drawn to scale), but also a rough specification of the materials of which it was to be made, and a contract between the Artist who designed it and the person who desired to erect it in the Church. On the back is a receipt for the payment, which was made in three equal sums, according to the agreement, and a memorandum (apparently in a later hand) stating the place which the monument occupied in the Church.

According to the scale on the front of the lower part of the tomb, it was eight feet in length, and nearly ten feet high; it is one of those semi-classical tombs, of

which some beautiful specimens are to be found in Westminster Abbey, St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, Stratford-on-Avon, St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, and many other places. These monuments are fixed against the wall, sometimes supported upon a corbel richly carved; and sometimes, as in this case, placed upon an altar tomb. They are characterised by columns, with classical caps and arches, under which are, frequently, kneeling figures and armorial shields, properly emblazoned. The materials used are marbles and alabaster, which appear to be veneered upon stone carved in little panels, bosses, and devices, and picked out with gold and colour.

After a period of nearly 300 years, there are few monuments adorning our Churches which are so attractive as these, distinguished as they are by their admirable proportions, the tone and colour of the marbles of which they are composed, and their quaint gilded lettering.

The Contract for the work is written below, and is as follows:—

Memorandum.—That the first daye of December, Anno Que Eliz. XLV., 1602, it is agreed betweene Alexander Cotes of the Cittie of Chester, Gentleman, and Maximilian Colte of London, Alien, that the said Maximilian shall make, frame, erect, and set up in the place agreed upon in the Church of St. John Baptist, in the Cittie of Chester, before the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin next comynge, one tombe of the forme before sett downe, to be wrought of Alabaster of the saide Alexander Cotes, with the inscriptions upon of the Armes of Alabaster to be provided by him the said Maximilian at London; and two Armes of Caen Stone to be set over the utter gate of the dwelling house of the said Alexander Cotes in the places appoynted. The tombe and the proportion to be accordinge to the scale aforesaid. And for the doinge thereof the said

Alexander Cotes is to pay to the said Maximilian Colte the summe of ten poundes in forme followinge, viz.: iii lbs. vj s. viii^d in hande; other iii lbs. vj s. viii^d when the stuffe cometh from London; other iii lbs. vj s. viii^d when the same work is finished and sett up. And Randall Holme of Chester, Paynter, is suerty for the said Maximilian for the performance thereof.

Alex. Cotes

Randle Holme

Maximilian Coult

Witness thereof

W. Powell

Anne Sparke.

On the back of the design are receipts of the three payments of £3 6s. 8d. each; and a note apparently made at a later time—"the plan of the old tomb in one of the little Chapples now in the North of the Church of St. John's, 1602." We have five signatures on this Memorandum of Agreement; and, curiously enough, some information can be had with respect to each one of them.

The specification is written on the margin of the design, and is read across it. It is divided by a streak which is drawn across the design at the top of the Altar Tomb. Above this line is written:—

"From this streak upwards all the Alabaster except such as the said Alexander now hath, and workmanship to be found and done by the said Maximilian Coulte, except the arches which are already done."

Below the line is written:—

"From this streak downwards is wholly to be at the cost and charge stuff and workmanship founde by the said Alexander Cotes and specification."

The Memoranda of Agreement were cancelled by lines drawn across them, when the Contract had been fulfilled.

Maximilian Coult or Colt flourished 1600-1618, sculptor, born at Arras, in Flanders, and settled in England about the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

On March 4th, 1604-5, he signed an agreement with the Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Cecil, to carve a monument above Queen Elizabeth's grave in Westminster Abbey, for £600: the work was completed at the end of 1606.

On March 17th, 1607-8, Colt was employed on a second monument in Westminster Abbey, above the grave of the Princess Sophia, the infant child of James I., who was born and died in the preceding June; and in September, 1608, it was agreed that this monument should also commemorate the Princess' sister Anne, who had died in the previous December. Colt received for this work £215.

On 28th July, 1608, Coult was nominated the King's Master Carver; and on 3rd March, 1608-9, he was granted a suit of broadcloth and fur, to be renewed annually for life. In 1611 he carved a crown on the head of the Duke of York's barge; and in the following years he was employed in decorating the King's and Queen's private barges. The last payment for this work was made on October 14th, 1624.

Between 1610-12 he is credited with having designed and superintended the building of Wadham College, Oxford; but this statement is probably due to a confusion of Colt with (Sir Thomas) Holt, who has better claims to be considered the architect.

Colt is met with as late as 1641, when he was imprisoned in the Fleet, and released by the Warden. A Petition was presented to the House of Lords in this

year, praying for an enquiry into the Warden's lenient conduct.

Colt's name appears originally to have been Poultrain, and in early life he is often described as Powtran or "Poutraine *alias* Colt"; but he was afterwards known only as Colt or Coult. He had a house in Bartholomew Close, and is described as living in Farringdon Ward in 1618, when his name appears in a list of foreigners then resident in London, together with that of John Colt, probably his son, who was also a sculptor, and a native of Arras. A daughter, Abigail, was buried at the age of 16 in St. Bartholomew's Church, 29th March, 1629, and his wife, Susan, in 1646: he had another son, named Alexander. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

The present Rector of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, writes that a family of Coultts, sometimes spelt Koult, lived in the Parish at the time named above. The name appears no less than 30 times in as many years.

Dean Stanley, in his memorials of Westminster Abbey, gives the following interesting account of the monument to Queen Elizabeth :—

"Her tomb is a landmark of English History; it was raised by her successor, erected by Maximilian Poutram, at the cost of £965, besides stonework. Considering the little love between the two, its splendour is a tribute to the necessity which compelled the King to recognise the universal feeling of the Nation. Disfigured as it is, it represents the great Queen as she was best known to her contemporaries; and of all the monuments in the Abbey, it was the one for many years the widest known throughout the whole kingdom.

"Far into the next century, Fuller could still speak of the lively draught of it, pictured in every London and in most Country Churches, every Parish being proud of the shade of her tomb; and no wonder, when each loyal subject created a mournful monument for her in his heart."

It is probable that this thought was suggested by one such copy, amongst many, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, with the lines :—

“ St. Peter's Church at Westminster
Her sacred body doth inter ;
Her glorious soul with Angels sings ;
Her deeds have patterns been for Kings ;
Her love in every heart hath room ;
This only shadows forth her tomb.”

Londiniensis i. 243.

“ The tomb of Mary Queen of Scots, erected by James I., is described as being ‘ like,’ but on a grander scale. There is no statement that this was the work of M. Coult ; but we have information that he designed and wrought the curious monument which James erected to the memory of the Princess Sophia, who lived but a day. Fuller says :—

“ ‘ The King took her death as a wise prince should, and wished her to be buried in Westminster Abbey, as cheaply as possible, without any solemnity or funeral, sleeping in her cradle ; the cradle is itself the tomb, wherewith vulgar eyes, especially of the weaker sex, are more affected (as level to their cognizance, more capable of what is pretty than what is pompous) than with all the magnificent monuments in Westminster.’ ”

—*Stanley's Westminster Abbey.*

Mr. Loftie, in his History of Westminster Abbey, says that the tomb of Mary Stuart was the last royal monument erected in the Abbey, and suggests that the same artists were employed on it as on Queen Elizabeth's. He gives the names of Maximilian Powtran and John de Critz, and supposes they would be foreigners.

In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I find that “ John de Critz was a Flemish painter ; he lived in Paris in 1582, and was patronized by Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1603 he was appointed Sergeant Painter, at a salary

of £10, drawn from the petty customs of the Port of London. In 1604 he had authority to do the work about the King's ships. 1605 he was employed to paint the tomb of Queen Elizabeth, erected by Maximilian Powtran, *alias* Coult, and received £100 for the work. In 1610 he received £330 for work done in Westminster Abbey; he is supposed to have painted the portraits of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Philip Sidney; he painted the royal barges, carriages, &c. (probably the heraldic work); buried in St. Martin's-in-Fields. His sons, also painters, painted scenes for Court plays, wall and ceiling figure decorations."

In "*London*," by Charles Knight, there is a statement that these two celebrated tombs were by Maximilian Coulte and Cornelius Cure.

I find from the *Dictionary of National Biography* that this Cornelius Cure was a master-mason to Queen Elizabeth, and was employed by James I. to make monuments to Queen Elizabeth and Mary Stuart. He died in 1607, and his son succeeded him as master-mason, and completed the monument to Queen Mary, painted by James Manny. Cure received £825 for this work.

"1613. Cure signed an agreement to erect a monument in Cranford Church, Middlesex, to Sir Roger Aston and family; this agreement is still in existence, as well as one by the same artist, to erect a monument in Bath Abbey, to James Montague, Bishop of Winchester, for £100.

"This artist worked on the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall, under Inigo Jones; he was buried in St. Thomas the Apostle's, Southwark. He was of Dutch origin, so that there appears to have been a little society of Flemish artists, sculptors, and painters, working together, about this time." (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

We next come to Alexander Cotes, who is the other party to the contract. He was one of the Cotes of Woodcote,¹ and derived the name from the Village of Cotes in Staffordshire, in which County, and in Salop, they possessed estates from a remote period. Thomas de Cotes held two parts of a knight's fee in 1167.

Alexander Cotes of Chester was Comptroller of the Port of Chester, and also held an office at Court; he married Ursula Powell, daughter, thirteenth and youngest child of Sir Thomas Powell of Birkenhead and Horsley, Knight. He was Clerk to the Barons of Exchequer of Chester. He carried the sword of Sir John Savage at his funeral 24th January, 1597, and John Powell the gauntlets. The monument in question was erected in memory of this Ursula Powell, who died at the end of the sixteenth century; they had one daughter and heiress, Anne, who married Richard Sparke. Alexander Cotes was Lay Impropiator and Patron of St. John's in 1587, and he lived in a house which stood upon the spot where St. John's Rectory now is; in an old plan of the time the house is marked Mr. Cotes' house; it was on the gate-posts of this house (probably) that the arms, carved in Caen stone and included in the contract for the monument, were placed; the Patronage, &c., was transferred to Trustees in 1605 for the use of Anne Cotes, the daughter, who was one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour.

We now come to the surety in the contract, Randle Holme, Paynter; his name is spelled Randall Hulme; he

¹ Alexander Cotes (if a Cotes of Woodcote) must have been a kinsman of George Cotes, Bishop of Chester from 1554 to 1555. The Bishop was a great grandson of Thomas Cotes, a younger son, who settled in Yorkshire, of John Cotes of Cotes, County Stafford, and Woodcote, County Salop, Sheriff of Staffordshire, 35 Henry VI. (*See Visitation Shropshire*, 1623). [Ed.]

signs, however, Randle Holme. There is no need to say much about Randle Holme at a Chester Archæological Society Meeting; but as there were four Randle Holmes who succeeded one another, and were all eminent persons, it is as well that we should define which of them it was who signed this document. It was, no doubt, the first of the name; he was the fourth son of Robert Holme of Tranmere, Deputy to College of Arms for Cheshire, Shropshire, and North Wales; he was fined £10 for contempt in not attending to receive knighthood at the Coronation of Charles I.; he was Sheriff of Chester in 1615, and Mayor in 1633.

In 1634 Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, came to Chester, and not finding the Deputy Herald (who happened to be Mayor) in waiting, sent for him by warrant; he came in state as Chief Magistrate of the City, and the Earl took his staff from him and scolded him for coming as Mayor in authority, when he had sent for him as Deputy Herald, who should have waited on him; Randle Holme appears to have eaten humble pie, and paid the fees demanded of him by the Earl Marshal's Officers. It was this Randle Holme, I believe, who wrote out, apparently from an earlier record, the Dexter side of the Mace-board of St. John's, which contains the names and arms of the Mayors of Chester who had lived in St. John's Parish from 1529 to 1626, when the copy was made: the earlier record has disappeared.

There remain now the two witnesses to the signatures we have already considered—W. Powell and Anne Sparke.

Sir Thomas Powell of Birkenhead and Horsley, Knight, married Alice, daughter and co-heiress of

Ralph Worsley of Birkenhead, County Chester, keeper of the Lions in the Tower of London, Esquire of the body to King Henry VIII. This Ralph Worsley died 27th December, 1573, and is buried in the St. Catherine's Chapel, in St. Mary's, Chester, where there is a memorial tablet to his memory. They had eight children, of whom the second surviving son was William Powell, born before 1573, one of the Barons of Exchequer of Chester, and one of the executors of his father. He married, 11th June, 1606, at Winwick, County Lancashire, Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Tunstall of Raynford, Newton, County Lancashire, and widow of Thurslon Collier of Staffordshire; she died 16th November, 1609.

Anne Sparke, the heiress of Alexander Cotes, brought the advowson of St. John's into the Sparke family by marriage with John Sparke: she had been a Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth.

The history of the advowson of St. John's, after the dissolution of the College, is interesting, and although already in print may be repeated here.

In 1585, October 4th, Queen Elizabeth granted the Improprate Rectory and the advowson of the Church of St. John Baptist in Chester to Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, her Vice-Chamberlain, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, who cared so little for his interesting possession, except so far as he could turn it into money, that he conveyed it on the next day to Alexander King, Gent., and he, in turn, to Alexander Cotes, Gent., two years later; he left it to his daughter, who married Richard Spark, who died on December 29th, 1639; and was succeeded by William Spark, his son, Alderman and Justice of the Peace, who died January 12th, 1658; and was succeeded by his grandson

John, who died July 11th, 1709; and was succeeded by Thomas Spark, his son, at whose death, March 22nd, 1716, the male line became extinct. Mary, his sister, who married Lawrence Wood, Vicar, became possessed of the advowson, and it was not until 1811 that it passed into the hands of the Grosvenor family.

We have thus on this tomb a kind of family history. Alexander Cotes is father of one of the witnesses to the contract, and brother-in-law of the other; the tomb is erected in memory of Alexander Cotes' wife Ursula, the mother of Ann Spark, and the sister of William Powell. The effigies on this tomb are said to be those of Alexander Cotes, his wife Ursula, their daughter Ann, and her husband Richard Spark. The coats of arms remain, and are fixed against the west wall of the Church. There are five of them; they appear to be chiefly the arms of Cotes and Powell, but the "Griffin" is said to be the crest of the Cotes.

The connection of Alexander Cotes and his daughter with the Court of Queen Elizabeth may account for the employment of Maximilian Coult, who was shortly to occupy an important position as the designer and carver of Royal Monuments. One question is, how did such a celebrated person, whose work commanded high prices, execute this large monument, with its effigies and coats of arms (not counting the shields which were to be set upon Mr. Cotes' gate-posts) for such a modest sum as £10? Possibly he was not yet well known. This monument at St. John's may have been one of his earliest works, and he was in the advertising stage of his career. Alexander Cotes may have had the wit and taste to appreciate the talent of the artist, and possibly he was the means of bringing him into notice.

The more we consider the histories and speculations which group themselves round this interesting monument, the more we must regret its destruction—possibly at the hands of the Parliamentary soldiers, who had a rooted dislike to figures of all kinds in churches as savouring of superstition; and the more we must rejoice that the flimsy sheet of paper round which the Cotes family gathered, with the strange artist Maximilian Coult, and the familiar figure of Randle Holme, on that 1st day of December, in the year 1602, and the last of the reign of the great Queen Elizabeth, has been preserved to us by the conservative spirit of succeeding Vicars and Officials of John's; a spirit which we should do all that lies in our power to encourage by our grateful acknowledgment.

NOTE.

THE ARMS ON THE COTES MONUMENT.

A memorandum, in the writing of the Rev. William Richardson, formerly Vicar of St. John's, gives the following reading of the Arms on the Cotes Monument:—

FIRST SHIELD—

He beareth quarterly of four: first and fourth Paly of six Or and Gules, within a bordure Azure Bezanty, by the name of Cotes. Second and third Sable a Chevron between three Trefoiles Argent, by the name of ——. Impaling quarterly of eight; First Sable three Roses, Argent, Barbed, and Seeded, proper. This coat was used by the Powells of Horsley, as descendants of Cunelda Wledig. Second Azure a Lion rampant Or Eunydd Lord of Duffryn Clwyd. Third Azure a Fesse Or between three Horses heads erased. *Colour defaced* Rhys ap Mardran Lord of Duffryn Clwyd and Allington. Fourth

Azure a Lion passant guardant Or. Llewelyn ab Iorwerth.
Fifth Ermine a Lion Rampant the colour of Lion destroyed:
 but if it was **Azure** it was then the coat of Eborac ap Rhys:
 and if it was **Sable** it was that of Kyrie ap Rhys Non.
Sixth Gules three Chevrons Argent. Jestyn ap Gorgan
 Lord or Prince of Morgannwg or Glamorgan. He was one of
 the five Royal Tribes of Wales. **Seventh Vert a Lion Rampant**
Or [by the name of—] **Eighth Or three, two, and one**
Annulets Sable by the name of Lowther.

SECOND SHIELD—

Paly of six Or and Gules within a bordure Azure Bezanty, by
the name of Cotes.

THIRD SHIELD—

Checky Or and Vert a Bend Ermine by the name of Sparke.
Impaling Paly of six, Or and Gules within a Bordure Azure
Bezanty by the name of Cotes.

FOURTH SHIELD—

Paly of six Or and Gules within a bordure Azure Bezanty
by the name of Cotes. Impaling Sable three Roses Argent,
Barbed, and Seeded proper. Powell of Horsley.

FIFTH SHIELD—

Checky Or and Vert a Bend Ermine by the name of Sparke.
Impaling quarterly of four, first and fourth Paly of six Or and
Gules within a bordure Azure Bezanty by the name of Cotes;
second and third Sable a Chevron between three Trefoils
Argent by the name of —.

Above is the following Crest: On a wreath a Griffin Segreant
Or.



A Defence of the Liberties of Chester, 1450

BY HENRY DAWES HARROD, F.S.A.

(Read February 20th, 1900.)

THE defence of the Liberties of Chester, which I am introducing to your notice to-night, is a defence by what we should call to-day constitutional methods. Herein it is exceptional for those times, which were used rather to the rough and ready defensive operations of the sword—for the rights of the County Palatine were in general defended, as they were held, by the sword.

When William the Conqueror granted the Earldom of Chester to his nephew, Hugh Lupus, he granted it to him "to hold by the sword as freely as he held all England by the Crown." And if there is in this grant an allusion to the right of the Earl of Chester to carry the *curtana* (or sword of justice) at the royal coronation, there is most assuredly a further and fuller reference to the "unceasing vigilance and activity which the Earls had to exercise in the defence of their City against the depredations of the Welsh, and the protection of the West of England from the incursions of those turbulent people."

The constitution of the County Palatine, and those rights of which the inhabitants were so tenacious, were based on the important defensive services afforded by

the Earl and his county to the kingdom at large. The constant vigilance demanded of the Earl forbade his attendance on the King in Parliament; and for the same reason it was not advisable that any of the inhabitants should be frequently and for lengthened periods absent from the county. Hence the Earl held his own Parliament at Chester, and neither the City nor County sent representatives to the King's Parliament. The Earl summoned to his Chester Parliament Eight Barons and a corresponding number of Bishops and Abbots; his Parliament exceptionally consisting of two estates, the nobility and clergy being always equally balanced, and the commonalty unrepresented.

In accordance with that fundamental basis of our constitution—that there should be no taxation without representation—the County and City of Chester, sending no representatives to the King's Parliament, were exempt from the King's taxes. As their absence from the King's Parliament was due to their being engaged in the defence of the country, and as such defence was a constant drain of men and money on them—more onerous indeed than the taxes claimed by the King from their fellow-countrymen—it was only reasonable that they should be exempt from the general taxation of the kingdom.

Similar considerations would lead to their having their own courts of law, wherein indictments ran "*contra dignitatem gladii Cestriæ*," instead of "*contra coronam et dignitatem*," and to their general organisation on a basis suitable to men of action, liable to a sudden and frequent call to arms.

Such rights, privileges, and immunities, were in no wise interfered with when the Earldom was seized by Henry III., to prevent its passing to female hands.

No doubt Henry was not sorry for an excuse to take possession of this Earldom, whose holder, though a great bulwark against the Welsh, had sometimes shewn an inclination to turn his power against the King himself. When Edward I. conferred the Principality of Wales upon his son, the headship of the great enemy of the country was combined in that royal personage with the office most representative of the struggle against that enemy. That the Prince of Wales should be Earl of Chester seemed to offer a guarantee for the cessation of hostilities.

The new era, however, did not establish that peace which was hoped for, nor, consequently, did it end the struggles of Chester. The Princes of Wales constantly confirmed and reiterated the privileges of the Palatinate, and it was not until the year 1450 that they were in any way seriously threatened. At that time the reigning sovereign, Henry VI., had, from his infancy, been King of England and Earl of Chester, and if his reign had been a disastrous one to the country, it was fatal to the prosperity of the County Palatine. The war in France had been prolonged in a series of disastrous campaigns; all the fruits of the victories of Henry V. had been lost; even the older possessions of the King were gradually slipping away; and the cost to the country in men and treasure was enormous. At home, during the minority of the King, the great Barons were again becoming all powerful, were quarrelling amongst themselves, and increasing the troubles of the country already overburdened by the charges of the French war. To culminate the troubles of the kingdom in 1450, Jack Cade was threatening London, and Parliament was held at Leicester. But if the affairs of the country were in a bad way, the Palatinate was still worse off.

Chester had been one of the most important cities of the kingdom. Its Earls became so important that Henry III. thought it advisable to annex the Earldom as an appanage of the Crown. It was independent of the King's Parliament; it had its own Parliament, Courts of Law, and Constitution. It had an important trade with Ireland and the West, and was alike the defence of England from Wales, and the starting point of expeditions, both peaceful and warlike, to Ireland.

Yet, in the disastrous times preceding 1450, the sands at the mouth of the Dee had choked up its harbour and spoiled its Irish trade, and Owen Glendower and the Welsh had ravaged its lands, and brought the City to a ruinous condition. When in 1444 Henry VI. visited the City, the inhabitants presented a petition to him, setting out their disastrous state; whereupon the King remitted £50 (out of the annual rent of £100, which they paid for their privileges) for fifty years to come.

In Dr. Morris' *Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods*, the letters' patent of 1445 are printed, and the following note is appended:—

“The petition referred to above was dealt with in an Inquisition held before John Mainwaring and other Commissioners, 28 Henry VI., who refer to the state of the Port in the time of Edward I. The substance of their report is embodied in this Charter.” (p. 513).

I hope this is not a fair sample of Canon Morris' accuracy. In the first place it is obvious to the meanest capacity that the result of an Inquisition, held 28 Henry VI. (1449), could not have been embodied in a Charter of 1444. Moreover, the Inquisition of 1449 was not held before John Mainwaring and other Commissioners, but before Richard Bolde^v and John de Hawarden. Sir John Mainwaring, John Donne of

Utkinton, John Dutton of Hatton, Richard Bunbury, Hugh Calvile, Richard Daniel, and others, were called as witnesses. The Commissioners actually recite the letters patent of 24th August, 23 Henry VI., so that Canon Morris has completely put the cart before the horse.

As a matter of fact this Inquisition was held to deal with a further petition, presented in 1449, praying for a further remission of the rent on the same grounds as the 1444 petition; and as a result, in 1450, a further £10 was remitted. This second remission, though mentioned in Ormerod, has escaped the Canon's observation.

When the Earldom of Chester was independent of the Crown, the Earls occupied a predominant position in the County; but when the Earldom became a royal title, the Earl would, of course, be seldom there; and in his absence, the most important position in the County was occupied by the Abbot of St. Werburg's Abbey. This Abbey belonged to the Benedictine Order, an Order of world-wide fame for learning and ability, to which Englishmen even to this day owe more than is generally recognised. The builders of many of our greatest churches and cathedrals, the founders of our educational establishment, they moulded the national character, and gave the tone to our Universities and Public Schools.

The Abbey of Chester was one of the possessions of this great Order. Founded by the great St. Anselm, at the cost of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, and constantly endowed by successive Earls and their Barons, it owned a quarter of the town of Chester, besides great possessions in the County and elsewhere. It being one of the first rules of St. Benedict that his monks should exercise liberal hospitality, the poor could always get a meal

here; and Kings, Archbishops, Nobles, and all the notable men of the day were sumptuously entertained. Large revenues were assigned to the kitchen to support this profuse hospitality.

The Abbot of Chester, the head of this great establishment, the courteous entertainer of the great in the land, who had, for his civil officers, all the best names of the County, who ranked in the church with the Bishop, and in the state with a Baron, was the central figure of the County, and the leader and head of all that moved and stirred in it. It is a curious circumstance that in those feudal days this great position was open to the humblest in the land. As a matter of fact, in the long line of Abbots, there is but one of what we should call good family, and he, William de Albo Monasterio (or Whitchurch) was conspicuous for his ability and services to the monastery. The elections were made by the community itself in the best interests of the monastery, and the qualifications were piety and administrative ability.

Dr. Morris' account of the Abbey of St. Werburg's hardly does justice to the subject. His work does not, of course, profess to be more than an arrangement and account of certain records; but the result, so far as St. Werburg's is concerned, produces the effect of a history of England compiled from the County Court records; or of the Church of England from the rolls of the Court of Arches. The general effect on one's mind after reading the chapter is that of an extract from the Newgate Calendar.

With regard to John Salghall, Abbot in 1450, Dr. Morris tells us, that a jury in 1431 found that he had been guilty of a sacrilegious theft in 1420; that he was

engaged in litigation with his neighbours, and that he was excommunicated in 1450.¹ (pp. 129-130.)

This is really a terrible picture of a man who took the leading place in the City and County of Chester; who ranked as a Baron of the kingdom, and as a Bishop in the church; held his own courts of law; employed as his officers the noblest in the County; and entertained as his guests the King and Queen, and nobles and churchmen without end. However, I am afraid his study of Indictment Rolls and Recognizance Rolls has given a bent to Dr. Morris' judgment, as he certainly has, unintentionally one must hope, very gravely misrepresented the case of this worthy Abbot.

I should not like to affirm that there may not have been some black sheep amongst the black monks of Chester, but I do think it highly improbable that a great community, such as St. Werburg's was, would have deliberately elected a convicted thief to be their

¹ In my paper I have only criticised those statements of Dr. Morris which were directly connected with the events of 1450. The note with reference to the Inquisition of 1449 I found to be wrong by looking at the copy of the Inquisition in the Harleian MSS. As regards Abbot Salghall, I cannot possibly deal with the supposed theft without seeing the original documents; and this is impossible, owing to the Doctor giving no reference. All I can say now is that on the face of it I don't believe the story. Dr. Morris does not treat Abbot Salghall fairly on the subject of the excommunication; and if he treats him unfairly on one point, he probably does so on another. But the whole of this account of the Abbey is to my mind most unworthy. The Abbey was a great religious house with forty monks and a host of lay-brothers, servants, labourers, officers, and retainers. That during the 500 years of its existence there were occasional breaches of the peace is not surprising, especially in view of the rivalry between the civil and religious jurisdiction. Canon Morris makes a list of these and calls them a history of the Abbots. He goes on to say that the Abbots more and more preferred the Pope to their own Diocesan, and talks of their arrogance and pride of heart. I cannot believe it possible that Dr. Morris was ignorant of the fact that the regular Orders were never at any time under the jurisdiction of the Bishops; that from their foundation to this day they have only been under the authority of the Pope; and that the idea of the Abbots of St. Werburg's shaking off the jurisdiction of their Diocesan is a complete fiction.

head. And this was not only a theft, but, according to Dr. Morris, a sacrilege. As such it could have, of course, only been dealt with in the Abbot's Court. This jury, therefore, if it gave the decision Dr. Morris represents, could only have made an *ex parte* statement, for certainly the Abbot would be the last person to bring such a matter before a civil jury. This conviction of a person, who was not accused before them, by a jury who had no power to try him, eleven years after the event, I dismiss as a mare's nest. The Canon supports his assertion by a note which is incomplete, and does not, as quoted, bear out the text; and as no reference is given, I have been unable to verify it.

As regards Dr. Morris' second piece of information, viz.: that Abbot Salghall was at law with his neighbours, I suppose in those days large landowners were hardly ever out of it. I presume that the Dukes of Westminster are constantly engaged in law proceedings in connection with their property; but one would not, therefore, necessarily condemn the late Duke as a litigious individual. In those days, even more than now, when long custom and usage has settled what was then more uncertain, litigation as to the rights and boundaries of property was inevitable.

But it is in the last statement about the Abbot that I think he is most unfairly dealt with by Dr. Morris, viz.: that he was excommunicated in 1450. It is true that the Abbot was excommunicated in 1450; and what that meant in those days, we have no parallel case now to illustrate. But for an Abbot, the head of a great religious establishment, to be deprived of all ecclesiastical privileges, to lose his civil rights, and to be the object of a severe and general boycott, was indeed an overwhelming blow. And 'this blow was endured by the Abbot in

defence of the liberties of Chester; not as Dr. Morris would have us believe as the fitting finish of a life of crime, but as the noble protest of a Cheshire man against the summons to appear at Convocation, from which he was exempt by his service in the Parliament at Chester. The hearts of the people of Chester must have been doubly stirred in sympathy with the excommunicated Abbot, and as suffering in their own liberty in his person. The Abbot set out in sorrow to make his submission and claim his exemption, and was assuredly received with enthusiasm on his return, having vindicated his right and the liberties of Chester, proved his exemption, and had the ban of excommunication removed, and himself restored to his beloved Abbey—a consummation to which Dr. Morris makes no allusion.

But the troubles of Chester in this remarkable year were not yet ended. Indeed, there wanted yet a final and crushing attack on its liberties. The taxation granted to the King by the Parliament at Leicester being in course of collection, the taxes were demanded by the Commissioners from the inhabitants of the County Palatine. Such an infringement of their liberties was most keenly resented, and was opposed with a striking unanimity. The attack on the purse is notoriously one not lightly suffered, and it must have been specially irksome to the worthy inhabitants of Chester. I say specially so to them, advisedly, for I conceive that these good people, living under the tenure of the sword, and constantly with their swords girt about them and in fighting trim, made less account of pecuniary obligations than even the generally light-hearted knights of chivalry. At all events they had an enactment that any inhabitant who made oath to their Court of Exchequer that he would pay his debts when he could, was entitled

to the free house and liberties belonging thereto. I think I am right, then, in saying that people living under such an enlightened regime, would be peculiarly susceptible to an unjust attack on their purses.

The County was united in protesting. As we shall presently see politics, family dissensions, and hostilities of an acute kind were forgotten in the common resistance to this attack. The form of defence was by Petition to the King as Earl of Chester, and the document I exhibit to-night is a power of attorney from the inhabitants of the County Palatine to certain gentlemen to sue out a Petition to the King.

As regards the document itself, the text is printed in Ormerod, but without the names of the signatories. The copy, which I exhibit, was the original power of attorney to Sir John Needham, who was one of the gentlemen authorised to sue out the Petition. Sir John Needham purchased the estate of Shavington, in Shropshire, and from his great nephew it descended directly to the present Earl of Kilmorey. The Shavington Estate was sold by Lord Kilmorey, in 1884, to Mr. Heywood-Lonsdale. At the time of the sale there were questions raised as to a heriot, claimed by the Corbets of Adderley, and also as to the rights of the Earls of Kilmorey to a transept in Adderley Church; and I was commissioned to proceed to Shavington to investigate these matters in the Shavington muniments. The method of keeping title deeds at Shavington was unique, but effectual. In a disused bedroom all documents, apparently from time immemorial, were piled. Two great oak chests and a row of shelves were originally designed to hold them, but they overflowed on to the floor in every direction. Here, in addition to the title deeds to the property going back to the 13th century, were rentals, receipts,

letters, and documents of every sort, all mingled in a miscellaneous confusion. And here, amongst other things, I found the Petition which I produce to-night for your inspection. As you will see, it is in excellent preservation, except as regards two of the Seals, and it has probably hardly been touched save on the two occasions on which Shavington was rebuilt.

The document reads as follows (modernising the spelling):—

“Most giften, most benigne and merciful King. We your humble subjects and true obeisants liege people, the Abbots, Priors, and all the Clergy, Barons, Knights, Squires, and all the commonalty of your County Palatine of Chester meekly pray and beseechen your Highness. Where(as) the said County is and hath been a County Palatine as well afore the conquest of England as sithen distinct and separate from your Crown of England within which County ye and all your noble progenitors sith he came into your hands and all Earls of the same afore that time have had your high courts Parliaments to hold at your wills, your chancery exchequer, your justice to hold pleas as well of the crown as common pleas, and by authority of such Parliaments to make or admit laws within the same such as be thought expedient and behoveful for the will of you and of the inheritors and inhabitants of the same County, and the inheritors of the same County be not chargeable nor liable nor have not been bounden charged nor hurt of their lands goods nor possessions within the same County nor the inhabitants of the same County of their bodies afore this time by authority of any Parliament holden in other places than within the same County by any act but such as that by their own common assent assembled by authority within the same County have agreed unto, experiencing of which franchise liberties and immunities they have no knights citizens nor burgesses of the said County to any Parliament out of the same County. And also ye and all youre noble progenitors and all Earls whose estate ye have in the said Earldom as Earl of Chester sith the conquest of England have had within the same *Regalem Potestatem* jura regalia et

prerogativa regia and as old writings maketh mention the most victorious King William Conqueror your noble progenitor gave the same County to Hugh Loup his nephew by such deeds willielmus conquestor dedit comitatem cestre Hugoni Loup nepoti suo tenendam sibi et heredibus suis adeo libere ad gladium sicut ipse teneret totam Angliam ad coronam, experiencing of which grant to be so in all appeals and all other suits where by your common law ye write contra coronam et dignitatem vestram ye and all your noble progenitors and all Earls of Chester afore the said Earldom came into your hands as Earl of Chester written contra dignitatem gladii cestri which franchise notwithstanding there be your commissions direct out to several commissions of the same County for the levy of a subsidy granted by the commons of your land at your Parliament late holden at Leicester to make levy thereof contrary to the liberties freedom and franchises of the said County and of the inhabitants thereof at all times afore this time used, that it please your most noble grace of your blessed favour the premises graciously to consider and also how that we your said beseechers have been as kind of our true hearts with our goods at times of need as other parties of your land and also ready to obey your laws and ordinances made and ordained within the said County and if anything be amiss amongst us ready to be reformed by your Highness by the advice of your council within the said County and to discharge all such commissions of the levy of the said subsidy within the said County and of your more especial grace order that to see that there be no act in this Parliament nor in any Parliament hereafter holden out of the same County made to the hurt of their bodies goods lands tenements or possessions within the said County for if any such act should be made it were clearly contrary to the liberties freedoms immunities and franchises of the said County and as to resuming of such possessions as it hath liked your Highness to grant unto any of your subjects all such as have ought of your grant within the said County inheritances shall be as ready to surrender their letters patents which they have of your grant for the more honorable keeping of your estate or else void be authority within your said County as any other person within any other part of your land considering that we

your said beseechers have been be and ever will be true dreadful obeisant and loving to and of you as to and of our most doucet Sovereign Lord our Earl and natural lord we the said Barons Knights Squires and Commons ready to live and die with you against all earthly creatures and by your license to say unto your Highness for the gracious expedition of this our most behoveful Petition, and we the said Abbots Priors and Clergy continually to pray to God for your most honourable estate prosperity and felicity which we all beseech God to continue with as long live to reign upon us as ever did prince upon people with issue coming of your gracious body perpetually to reign upon us for all our most singular joy and comfort.

And in witness that this is the will assent and desire and agreement of us, John Abbot of Chester, Thomas Abbot of Vale Royal, Richard Prior of Birkenhead, Edmund Lord Grey, John Lord Dudley, Thomas Stanley, Andrewe Ogart, John Maynwaring, knights; John Troutbeck, William Stanley, Thomas Danyell, John Donne, Hugh Calviley, Randle Brereton, Richard Cholmondeley, Raulyn Grosvenor, John of Eggerton, Thomas Beeston, Thomas Manley, Rauf Gamul, squires; Thomas Pull, John Dutton of Hatton, William Whitmore, William Holford, Richard Bunbury, Thomas Venables, William Maynwaring, Richard Swinnerton, Richard Spurstowe, Richard Clive, Henry Ravenscroft, Thomas Hogh, and Jenkyn of Bebington, and of all other gentles and commons that John Maynwaring knight, Raulyn of Eggerton, Robert Legh of Adlyngton, John Davenport of Davenport, and John Needham sue a Petition in the form above written to the King our Sovereign Lord for us and all the inheritors and inhabitants of the said County and in our name and we to abide by the said suit and to this present writing we have set our Seals."

The document has eight Seals attached, of which—

- 1.—With the figure of an Abbot, much defaced, is, no doubt, the Seal of the Abbot of Chester;
- 2.—Is entirely destroyed;
- 3.—The stag's head, the crest of Sir Thomas Stanley;

4.—Has the Blessed Virgin and Child. This Seal probably represents the Prior of Birkenhead: though the Seal of the Priory was the Virgin and Child, with an Abbot kneeling at foot;

5.—What and whose this Seal may be I cannot say;

6.—Is much defaced, but I think the device may be a maunch; and the Seal that of Edmund Lord Grey;

7.—With a garb; between the initials R.C. is the Seal of Richard Cholmondeley. The garb was the badge of Hugh Cyveliok, Earl of Chester, and was borne by several noble families in Cheshire, descended from his daughters. After the great suit of Scrope *v.* Grosvenor (which lasted from 1386 to 1389, and in which all the great nobles of the land, all the leading men of Cheshire, and Geoffrey Chaucer the Poet, were called as witnesses), the Grosvenor family being deprived of the Arms, *azure a bend or*, adopted the garb, to which they were entitled, and which also appears in the Arms of the City;

8.—With a pheon; between initials I.D. is the Seal of John Lord Dudley;

9, 10, and 11 are tags unsealed.

The Petition was sued in form to the King by those designated in the Power of Attorney, except that the place of John Davenport of Davenport, was taken by Robert Foulshurst, and the prayer of the Petition was graciously granted on the 8th of March, 1450-1.

The following documents in Ormerod attest:—¹

Prosecuta fuit ista Billa ad dominum regem per Johannem Manwaring militem, Radulphum Egerton, Robertum Foulshurst, Robertum Leigh de Adlington et Johannem Needham, anno R.R.H. vi., post conquestum anglie vicesimo nono.

By the King.

Trusty and well beloved in God and trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as we have by a supplica-

¹ King's Vale Royal, Ormerod 1., 100.

tion presented unto us, on behalf of all our liege people, within our County Palatine of Chester: how their predecessors, nor ancestors have not been charged before this time with any fifteenth or subsidy, granted unto us or any of our progenitors by authority of any Parliament, holden out of our said County. For which cause we have charged our Chamberlain of our said County, to make our writs, directed to all our Commissioners, ordained for the assessing and levy of the said subsidy last granted unto us; charging them to surcease from any execution of our letter of commission made unto them in that parties. Wherefore according to our commandment late given by us unto our said Chamberlain, we will that ye in our behalf, open and declare unto all our liege people, how it is our full will and intent, that they be not charged with any such grant otherwise than they their predecessors and ancestors have been charged aforetimes. And that they have and hold, posside and enjoy, all their liberties freedoms and franchises in as ample and large form as ever they had in our or any of our progenitor's days. And that ye fail not thereof, as we trust you, and as you deem to please us.

Given under our signet of the eagle,¹ at our Palace of Westminster the 8th day of March, anno R.R.H. vi., vicesimo nono.

To our Trusty and well-beloved in God the Abbot of our Monastery of Chester; to our trusty and well-beloved knights Sir Thomas Stanley, our Justices of Chester, and Sir John Maynwaring, and to every of them.

The successful issue of this important matter established the Liberties of Chester on a surer ground than ever, and, accordingly, the immunity of the County from taxation was recognised, until in 32 Henry VIII., the special privileges of the County Palatine were to a great extent abolished, their own Parliament was suppressed, and they were authorised to send knights

¹ The mention of the signet of the eagle, I may remark, is unusual. The King of England used various signets, but the signet of the eagle was especially the signet of the Holy Roman Empire. I believe it to have been used by King Henry IV., but on what grounds I am unable to say: I know of no other instance of its use by King Henry VI.

and burgesses to the King's Parliament, which, from the time of Edward VI., they have ever afterwards continued to do.

It remains only to mention briefly who and what were the nobles, clergy, and commonalty, who united to effect this great defence.

Firstly, as to the gentlemen empowered to sue out the defence.

Sir John Mainwaring was a representative of one of the best families in Chester. His ancestor, Ralph Mainwaring, had married Amicia, daughter of Hugh Cyvelioc, Earl of Chester. It is alleged that she was illegitimate, and the statement of this fact by Sir Peter Leycester (1673) in his *History of Cheshire*, called forth the ire of Sir Thomas Mainwaring, a descendant of Sir John, and caused the publication of a vast number of books and pamphlets, resulting in a drawn battle. Sir John himself was the son of Randle Mainwaring and Margery, daughter of Hugh Venables, Baron of Kinderton, one of the eight Chester Baronies. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Delves; and of his sisters, Elizabeth married Rauf Egerton, Cicely married Thomas Foulshurst, Joan married John Davenport of Davenport, and Margaret married first, Sir John Bromley, and secondly, Sir John Needham. He was, therefore, nearly connected with many of the signatories to the Petition.

Rauf Egerton was brother of John Egerton of Egerton, and brother-in-law of Sir John Mainwaring.

Robert Leigh of Adlynton was the descendant of Ellen de Corona, and son and heir of Sir Robert Leigh of Adlynton, who disputed the Pulford estates with Sir Thomas Grosvenor, the father of Rauf Grosvenor,

who appears in this Petition. This dispute was settled in a manner characteristic of the times. After a great amount of evidence had been called, and the matter appeared as far from settlement as ever, it was agreed that Sir Thomas Grosvenor should make oath upon the Blessed Sacrament that the lands in question were his. This was done in the presence of fifty-seven noblemen and gentry of the County, who afterwards attested the oath, and thereupon Sir Robert Leigh renounced all claim to the property. Robert Leigh died 1478, and the family is now extinct.

John Davenport of Davenport was hereditary Serjeant of Macclesfield. He was nephew to Robert Leigh of Adlynton, and brother-in-law of Sir John Mainwaring.

Robert Foulshurst, who replaced him in the proceedings, was in Inquisitions 1438, found heir to Thomas Foulshurst of Crewe; he married a daughter of Sir Richard Vernon, was Escheator of the County in 1460, Esquire of the body of Edward, son of Henry VI., and was living in 1474.

Sir John Needham subsequently married Margaret, sister of Sir John Mainwaring. He was at this time Deputy Judge of Chester; but he was also Common Serjeant of London in 1449; Member of Parliament for London, elected in this year, 1450; and subsequently Chief Justice of the County Palatine of Lancaster; Chief Justice of the County Palatine of Chester; and Judge of Assize. He had no children, but from his elder brother the family of Lord Kilmorey is descended.

As regards the signatories to the Petition, I have already given some account of the Abbot of Chester. He died in 1453, and was buried in the Lady Chapel of St. Werburg's.

Thomas, Abbot of Vale Royal. The Abbey of Vale Royal was founded by Prince Edward, Earl of Chester, in fulfilment of a vow made in peril of shipwreck in 1266. The first stone was laid by him in 1277, after he had become King Edward I. The Abbey became second in wealth and importance to the Abbey of St. Werburg. Thomas de Kirkham, the signatory to this Petition, occurs as Abbot in 1440 and 1472. He was also Bishop of Sodor and Man. The Abbey subsequently became the property of the Cholmondeley family by purchase.

Richard, Prior of Birkenhead. The Priory was founded by Hamon de Massey, Baron of Dunham Massey, in 1150. It was a cell or branch house of St. Werburg. Its most valuable possession was the ferry from Birkenhead to Liverpool. This Prior I have not found mentioned elsewhere.

Edmund Lord Grey, was fourth Baron Grey de Ruthyn; he was son of the third Baron by Margaret, daughter of William seventh Baron de Ros of Hamlak. He succeeded in 1440, and was subsequently, in 1465, created Earl of Kent, and was Lord High Treasurer of England. The son of his half-brother, Sir Edward de Grey, married Elizabeth Wideville, daughter of Earl Rivers, who, after his death at the battle of St. Albans, married King Edward IV. From him were descended the Earl of Huntingdon, afterwards Marquis of Dorset, the Earls of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey, and the Earls of Stamford. The Earldom of Kent became extinct in 1640; but the Barony of Grey de Ruthyn still continues.

John Lord Dudley, was father of the celebrated Edmund Lord Dudley, who, with Richard Empson, made such vast sums of money for Henry VII. by fines

and forfeitures, and was attainted in 2 Henry VIII. and beheaded. His son John became Duke of Northumberland, and was father of Lord Guildford Dudley, husband of Lady Jane Grey. By this unhappy pair these two families of Grey and Dudley were connected.

Sir Thomas Stanley was in 1439 Deputy to William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Judge of the Palatinate Court; in 1443 they became joint Judges, and from 1450-1457 Sir Thomas Stanley was sole Judge with Sir John Needham as Deputy. Sir Thomas Stanley was subsequently Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Comptroller of the Household, and Chamberlain to Henry VI. He was made a K.G. and Baron Stanley in 1456. He died in 1458-9, and was succeeded by his eldest son Thomas, second Lord Stanley, who married firstly, Eleanor, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and sister of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick (the King Maker); and secondly, Margaret, daughter and heiress of John, Duke of Somerset, and widow of Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond, and mother of Henry Earl of Richmond. Lord Stanley, who was thus step-father of Henry Earl of Richmond, placed the Crown of Richard on the head of Henry after the Battle of Bosworth, and was created Earl of Derby, and afterwards Constable of England.

Sir Andrew Ogart married Margaret, daughter of John, last Baron Clifton, and dying without children the Barony became in abeyance.

John Troutbeck was the son of William Troutbeck, Chamberlain of Chester, 14 Henry IV.—17 Henry VI. (1412-1438), and succeeded his father as Chamberlain from 1438-1456. He was Sheriff 1438. He married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Thomas Hulse, and

became Serjeant of the Bridge Gate. Like many other Chester notables, he volunteered under the banner of Henry VI., and fell at the fatal Battle of Bloreheath in 1459. At this battle Richard Nevill Earl of Salisbury, who had raised an army in Wales and the West for the Yorkist cause, was intercepted by James Touchet Lord Audley, who, in conjunction with Queen Margaret, had collected a body of 10,000 Lancastrians in Cheshire and the neighbourhood. Lord Salisbury overcame his opponents by a stratagem, and, drawing them into an ambush, defeated them with great slaughter. Drayton commemorates the battle in the following lines :—

“There Dutton kills a Dutton, there Done doth kill a Done,
 A Booth a Booth ; and Leigh by Leigh is overthrown ;
 A Venables against a Venables doth stand,
 And Troutbeck fighteth Troutbeck hand to hand ;
 There Molineux doth make a Molineux to die,
 And Egerton the strength of Egerton doth try.”

William Stanley was probably Sir William Stanley of Hooton, who married Agnes, daughter of Robert Grosvenor ; was Sheriff of Chester in 1462, and in 1465 made Sheriff for life. He was one of the King's Carvers.

Thomas Daniel of Over Tabley married Maude, daughter of John Leycester. This family is extinct, but the Daniels of Daresbury represent a younger branch.

John Done, afterward Sir John Done of Utkinton, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Peter Dutton of Dutton. His third brother, Hugh Done, was of Oulton, which property went by marriage to the Egerton family. Sir John was, like John Troutbeck, slain at Bloreheath, fighting for the King. Utkinton, eventually, passed into possession of the Crewe family.

Hugh Calviley, afterwards Sir Hugh Calviley of Lea. He married firstly, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Done, last-mentioned. He was great great nephew of the famous Admiral Sir Hugh Calviley. He married secondly, a daughter of Sir Thomas Grosvenor, and was consequently involved in the great Grosvenor succession suit to be mentioned presently.

Randle Brereton, son of Sir William Brereton of Brereton, by Margaret, daughter of Hugh Done of Utkinton, and founder of the family of Brereton of Malpas. It is curious to note how even family feuds sank into insignificance in the common purposes of this Petition. Randle Brereton was at deadly feud with John Egerton of Egerton, and John Egerton was in this very year bound over to keep the peace towards Randle Brereton; amongst his sureties being Sir John Mainwaring and Richard Clive, parties to this Petition. He married a daughter of William Holford, another party to this Petition.

Richard Cholmondeley, a representative of a great Cheshire family, descended from Beatrix, daughter of Hugh Cyveliok Earl of Chester. He appears as Justice of Chester 1464, 1482, and 1487. He married Ellen, daughter of John Davenport of Davenport. He was ancestor of the Marquis of Cholmondeley. Like many great Cheshire families, descended from the daughters of Hugh Cyveliok, he bore the coat azure garb or.

Raulyn or Raufe Grosvenor, a representative of another great Cheshire family. Raufe Grosvenor was second son of Sir Thomas Grosvenor before-mentioned, a descendant from the old Earls of Chester. On the death of his eldest brother Robert, in 1464, the Grosvenor estates passed to Robert's six daughters.

Raufe contested his nieces' claim, maintaining that the estates passed in tail male, and the suit was a celebrated one; but he was unsuccessful, the daughters proving that the estates passed in tail general. Raufe, however, established his fortunes by marrying the daughter and heiress of John de Eton, and thereby acquiring the Eaton estates, now the property of his descendant, the Duke of Westminster.

John Egerton, afterwards Sir John Egerton of Egerton, was like Richard Cholmondeley, a descendant of Beatrix, daughter of Hugh Cyvelioc Earl of Chester. He, like John Troutbeck and Sir John Done, fell at the Battle of Bloreheath. From this family were descended the Dukes of Bridgewater, and the Earl of Ellesmere, and Lord Egerton of Tatton.

Thomas Beeston of Beeston Castle was the son of William Beeston of Beeston, who married Clemence, daughter of Sir Randle Mainwaring of Peever. Thomas Beeston married first, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Vernon of Haslington, and secondly, Elizabeth Handford. He died in 1476. He represents another instance of the sinking of family feuds in this Petition, as he was at feud with the Grosvenors; and Robert Grosvenor, the eldest brother of Raufe Grosvenor, had been bound over to keep the peace with him.

Thomas Manley of Manley succeeded his father in 1426, and died 12 Henry VII. (1496). He married Mary, daughter of Sir John Done. He was one of the three Judges, Sir William Stanley and William Booth being the others, who tried the great Grosvenor succession case, to which allusion has been made.

Raufe Gamul of the family of Gamul of Buerton, of which family came Sir Francis Gamul, knighted by Charles I.

Thomas Pull, otherwise Poole of Poole, married (1425) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton.

John Dutton of Hatton was Mayor of Chester in 1451. The Duttons of Hatton were a younger branch of the Duttons of Dutton, but in the time of Henry VIII. they succeeded to the family estates. The estates, eventually, passed to the Gerard family by the marriage of Gilbert Lord Gerard, with Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas Dutton of Dutton. I cannot forbear mentioning in connection with this marriage that Lady Gerard was married at the age of thirteen. These early marriages seem, as you have recently learnt, to have been fashionable at that time; and I find that when Lady Gerard subsequently married Robert, second Viscount Kilmorey, their daughter, Eleanor Needham, was married to Peter Warburton at the age of eleven; and her husband dying soon after, she married a second time, Richard Lord Byron, at the age of seventeen.

William Whitmore of Thurstaston was Mayor of Chester in this year, 1450, and again in 1473. His mother was daughter of Raufe Davenport of Davenport. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Atherton of Atherton, in pursuance of a covenant in a deed made before she was born.

William Holford of Holford married Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Venables, Baron of Kinderton. His daughter married Randall Brereton. He died 1459. The estate of Holford subsequently passed to the Cholmondeleys.

Richard Bunbury, Lord of the Manor of Bunbury, died 1458. The Manor is now the property of the Earl of Dysart.

Thomas Venables, son and heir of William Venables, Constable of Chester Castle and younger brother of Sir Richard Venables of Kinderton. Thomas Venables married Margery, daughter of Sir William Stanley of Hooton.

William Mainwaring, a son of Sir John Mainwaring.

Richard Swinnerton. The only trace of the Swinnerton family I have found is in a Shavington deed of 1296-7, to which Roger Lord de Swinnerton and John de Swinnerton were witnesses.

Richard Spurstowe, son and heir of Henry Spurstowe of Spurstowe, married Alice, daughter of Sir Randle Mainwaring.

Richard Clive of Huxley was buried in St. Werburg's Abbey. Huxley afterwards passed to the Wilbraham family and the Earl of Powys.

Henry Ravenscroft. Hugh de Ravenscroft, in the time of Henry VI., married Isabella, daughter and heiress of Ralph Holland of Bretton, Flintshire.

Thomas Hough of Leighton married Margaret Davenport of Davenport, and died 1477.

Jenkin of Bebington, of a junior branch of the family of Bebingtons of Bebington.

I have thus been able to identify all of those who were parties to this interesting document. Many of them were related or connected by marriage. All of them are representative of good Cheshire families. It is astonishing how these names, the Stanleys, Mainwarings, Cholmondeleys, Grosvenors, Needhams, and many others, occur again and again in Chester history; and how, in spite of their constant loss in battle (as

instanced even in this Petition), the old families have survived.

It is astonishing too, what a whiff of mediævalism attaches to this old parchment. I have endeavoured, in some sort, to suggest to you some of the pictures that are conjured up by the mere mention of the names appearing there.

The great Abbey (where most probably this document was attested) and the great Churchmen, whose names appear on it, recalling an order of things completely swept away. The great nobles who, and whose children, were to take so prominent a part in the troublous times so soon to be in store for them. Their disputes about such matters as the blazoning of a shield, exemplified by the suit of Scrope v. Grosvenor; and the curious settlement of a dispute, by Sir Thomas Grosvenor taking his oath upon the Blessed Sacrament, and thereby at once closing all further opposition. And the long line of those who fought for their King at Bloreheath. All these things take us back to a strange world of contention and devotion, utterly foreign to our modern ways of thought. I only hope that I may have, by means of this document, recalled to you a faint reminiscence of those quaint and good old days.

NOTE.

I have quoted in my Paper the lines of Drayton, referring to the Battle of Bloreheath, not for their historical value, but as containing so many names which occur in the Chester Petition. So far as they contain a list of the Lancastrian slain, they are perfectly accurate, but I find no justification in their representation of the

Battle of Bloreheath as internecine. I have long had a suspicion of the lines, from the fact that they are quoted by all the local historians of Cheshire and Shropshire, down to the latest of these, Canon Morris, in his voluminous, but, so far as I have referred to it, inaccurate account of *Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods*. I must do the Canon the justice of saying that, in quoting them, he says that they "misrepresent the attitude of Chester men."

Since reading my Paper, however, I have been prompted to make a further investigation into the authority for these lines. They occur in the account of the Battle of Bloreheath, in the 22nd Song of the *Polyolbion*. Drayton has another account of the Battle in his *Miseries of Queen Margaret*. In this poem the stanza, corresponding to the lines quoted from the *Polyolbion*, runs as follows:—

"The son (as some report) the father slew,
In opposition as they stoutly stood;
The nephew's seen the uncle to pursue,
Bathing his sword in his own natural blood:
The brother in his brother's gore imbrue
His guilty hands, and at this deadly ford,
Kinsman kills kinsman, which together fall,
As hellish fury had possess'd them all."

Contemporary history supplies nothing corresponding to this in the accounts of the Battle of Bloreheath; but in Hall's account of the Battle of Towton, fought on Palm Sunday, the 29th March, 1461, occurs the following passage:—

"This conflict was in manner unnatural: for in it the son fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the uncle, and the tenant against his lord."

This account of the Battle of Towton is perpetuated in the 3rd part of *King Henry VI*.

Is it not obvious that the stanza in the *Miseries of Queen Margaret* is an expansion of Hall's account of the Battle of Towton, inadvertently transferred by Drayton to his account of the Battle of Bloreheath; and that the lines in the *Polyolbion* are a further amplification of the stanza in the *Miseries*?

It would further appear that a legend, arising from the *lapsus calami* of a poet, has been crystallized into national history through this blind following of one another by local historians, none of whom has been at the trouble of verifying the quotation. I hope that I may now have been able to stem the tide of misrepresentation against Cheshire men, which has surged since Drayton's day.



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Plemstall Church—South-east view.

From Photographs by Mr. E. G. Ballard.

Plemstall Church—Interior.



A short Epitome of a Paper on Plemstall Parish Church

BY REV. W. S. JOHNS

(Read December 18th, 1900)

PLEMSTALL or Plegmundstall Church, about four miles from the centre of Chester, has its special claims to interest. It is more than a thousand years since the saintly and gifted Plegmund, for fear of the Danes, lived as a hermit on this spot, then known as an "Island of Chester." From this retreat he was summoned by Alfred (who had now—in 878—by the treaty of Wedmore, confined the Danes to the district north of Watling Street) to be the instructor and educator of both monarch and people. Subsequently, he discharged with piety and usefulness the duties of Archbishop of Canterbury, until his death in 914. The site of Plemstall Church is the only spot which fulfils the requirements of the Story of Plegmund. The geological and botanical features of the district show that, within a comparatively recent historical period, the district was overflowed by the sea, and under such conditions only the Parish Church of Plemstall and the Holme Farm could stand upon the watery waste as an "Island of Chester."¹ There is no Village or Township of

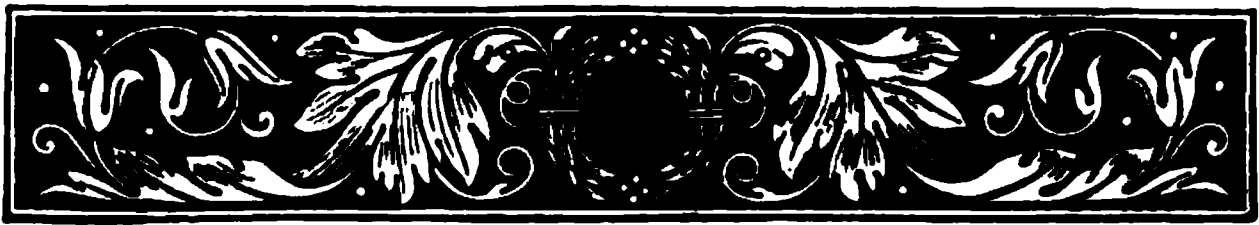
¹ See Paper read by Judge Wynne Ffoulkes before Chester Archæological Society.

Plemstall—only the Church and Parish bear the name of the Saint.

Doubtless, from the time of Alfred and Plegmund, Christians, from generation to generation, have been gathered together to worship on this interesting spot; but the architecture of the greater part of the present Church is Perpendicular, the work of Tudor times. The Rectory was at one time in the gift of the Monastery of S. Paul at Shrewsbury; subsequently it was appropriated to the College of S. John, Chester. Sometime after the dissolution, it was purchased by Bishop Bridgeman, from whose descendant, Lord Bradford, it passed by purchase to others. We have the names of the Rectors and Vicars from 1297; the Registers date from 1558. The Church consists of a nave and chancel, with an aisle on the north side, separated from the body by a range of six obtusely-pointed arches. The chancel is divided from the body of the Church by a fine wooden screen; and a Chapel of the Trafford family (now passed by marriage to the Barnstons) is divided off from the east end of the aisle in a similar manner. All the windows appear to have been decorated with rich painted glass. The date 1500 appears on the windows of the Trafford aisle, and in a window on the south side are some brilliantly coloured figures of "Thomas Smith and wyfe," with their seven sons and four daughters kneeling behind them. There are interesting memorials of the Hurleston, Trafford, Barnston, Pilkington, Hamilton, and other families. There is an interesting Well called "The Christening Well," near the Church, which may be S. Plegmund's Well. This is very much overgrown with weeds and thorns, but traces can be seen of stones with which it has been cased. The water in it is of a higher level than the stream or river which is not

far off, and its overflow feeds a pond in the adjoining field. The water is still taken from here, at times, for baptisms—just as we hear of water from the Jordan being used—so that there is still some justification for the title “The Christening Well.”

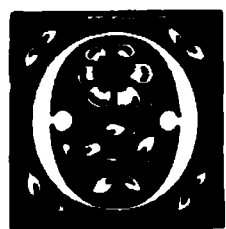
The Bible and Chain of Reformation times are to be seen in this Church. The structure is still filled with high square pews, and has a “three-decker,” which is in these days an interesting and almost unique feature.



The Chester Rows

BY HENRY DAWES HARROD, Esq., F.S.A.

(Read February 19th, 1901)



ONE of the most interesting features of Chester is the Rows. Visitors who come here to see the beauties of the City are struck by this unique feature. What is the origin of these Rows, they ask, and can get no satisfactory reply; not that the question has not been frequently answered. Your own Society has dealt with the question, and more than one reply has been propounded by its members. Luckily, everyone who has explained the origin of the Rows has confuted other people's explanations, so that we have no more difficulty in confuting the explanations than in finding them.

The generally received explanation of the Rows in former times was that the original ground-level of the City was the same level with the Rows, and that the streets were cut out from this level 16 to 20 feet down into the solid rock. This is the opinion of older authorities cited by Hemingway, and approved by him and embodied in his work.¹ This opinion was confuted by Dr. Brushfield;² but confutation is no longer required, for later researches clearly prove that the roadway represents the original ground-level, and that the Rows

¹ Hemingway i, 393.

² Journal V., 212.

are artificially raised above that level. It seems certainly incredible that the roads should have been cut out of the solid rock to a depth of many feet; and the discoveries of Roman columns and buildings shew now that this was not the case. The foundations of the Roman buildings correspond with the height of the roadway; the Rows themselves are raised above that level by the accumulations of the rubbish of centuries.

Another early opinion was that the porticoes and piazzas of Roman Chester were the ideals on which later architects worked.¹ The Roman origin of the Rows is dismissed by Mr. Hewitt,² who, on this point, has the support of Dr. Brushfield.³ Their unanimity on this sole point is remarkable, as otherwise they are opposed, and the summary way in which they deal with this suggestion, which has had much support, makes one pause.

You will see before I finish that they are wrong in wholly dismissing this suggestion. The facts I shall adduce will clearly shew that, in a measure, we owe these Rows to ancient Roman architecture. To suppose that the Rows are modelled on Roman architecture is, of course, absurd; nothing in Roman architecture at all similar to them can be produced; but had Roman Chester never existed, we should never have had the Rows; and this proposition I shall presently prove to you.

A third theory, which has also the weight of antiquity, was that of Archdeacon Rogers (who died in 1595), which explained that the Rows were constructed for defensive purposes. Ormerod quotes this suggestion

¹ *British Archæology*; *Journal* XLIV., 361.

² *Journal* N.S. I., 31.

³ *Journal* V., 217.

with approval,¹ but Hemingway characterises it as puerile;² and as there is no record of the Welsh having ever effected an entrance into the town, the precaution would have been superfluous.

Fourthly, Hemingway³ says that some have asserted that the Rows "were built for the accommodation of citizens and traders, by sheltering them from the summer's heat and winter's storm." In Turner & Parker's *Domestic Architecture*, this theory is elaborated:—

"In rebuilding the town after a great fire it was found more convenient to make a footway and a sort of bazaar for shops upon the top of the vault of the cellars, and by taking a passage out of the solars, than in the narrow roadway below, where the cellars would not generally make convenient shops."

Since Hemingway's theory of the excavated roadways was exploded, it may be said that the theory here stated has been most influentially supported. Hemingway stated that it was held before his time; Lysons is quoted as approving it; and Mr. Parker's own authority would carry considerable weight. Mr. Hewitt supported and developed this view at some length.⁴

Dr. Brushfield unanswerably confutes this theory. Apart from the inherent improbability of all the inhabitants giving up their "first floor fronts," so to say, there is no shred of historical support for the idea. The assertion that the Rows were built over the vaults is itself erroneous, as only in three known cases is this the fact; and in the great majority of instances the vaults are behind the Rows. Moreover, the crypts were evidently the result of the elevation of the Rows, and not the cause of it.

¹ Helsby's *Ormerod* I., 187.

² I., 396.

³ I., 396.

⁴ *Journal* V., 282-3.

Finally, Dr. Brushfield's own theory is that the construction of the Rows is based on the same plan as the colonnaded houses on the street level, like those in Northgate Street for instance.¹ To this one can only say that it may illustrate the fact of the houses overlapping the pavement, but does not explain it; and that it ignores the salient feature of the Rows, which is that the Rows are on the first floor, and not on the ground-level. Colonnaded streets and overlapping houses are met with elsewhere; not so this peculiar feature of the Chester Rows. Dr. Brushfield's theory is, in effect, no explanation at all, and takes us no farther than we were before.

Finally, Dr. Morris, in his *Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods*, propounds a new theory.²

"When, after the long interval of comparative desolation extending over several centuries, and the alternating ravages of Saxon and Dane, Chester became, once more, under the firm rule of its Norman Earls, a city of settled inhabitants, and, for the sake of its commanding position both from a military and commercial point of view, an increasing resort for merchants and traders, that same circumscribed area to which reference has been made (as in the case of the City of London) would be the most valuable for trade. The course of the four streets would have been kept free and unencumbered for traffic, even during Saxon and Danish times; but along the line would remain the ruins of the dismantled Roman buildings, which as each century passed would have been covered more deeply with rubbish and soil. Traders would erect their shops along the level of the four main streets—Bridge Street, Watergate, Eastgate, and Northgate, which in the mediæval times were the only *streets* so called; all the other lines of traffic being called lones, or lanes, with the single exception of Pepper Street.

"At first these shops on the level of the street were not properly shops, but seldæ, mere sheds often moveable, such

¹ Journal V., 232.

² pp. 289-290.

as those which were set up at the great Annual Fairs ; and, as we learn from the agreement between the Abbot of St. Werburgh and the Mayor of Chester, were to be removed immediately at the end of the fair. But the frontage and position was a valuable one, and other traders coming in would wish to enjoy the same advantage. What more natural than that they should erect on the higher ground, formed of the debris of Roman buildings rising behind these seldæ or traders' sheds, their own places of business. These new buildings, perhaps of a more permanent character, would have the advantage of facing the principal business streets. They would be the shopæ, of a better character than the seldæ, open rooms with wide openings closed with shutters."

It will be seen that Canon Morris has the merit of an attempt to square theory with fact. In my opinion, however, he puts the cart before the horse. I think that I shall be able to shew you that the shopæ existed before the seldæ, and in that case his whole theory falls to the ground. Some of the facts, however, on which he bases his erroneous conclusions will be valuable in guiding us to a correct theory.

It will be seen, therefore, that there have been plenty of theories of the origin of the Rows, but that these theories have, from time to time, been confuted, and will none of them bear the test of fact.

The underlying defect of all these theories is, that they are too simple, too cut and dried ; they endeavour to put the case in a nutshell ; to give a simple explanation of a complicated phenomenon. After all, Topsy's account of her personal history—that "she grewed"—was more philosophic. The Rows, like everything else in nature and in art, are the result of laws of evolution and adaptation ; they grew to what they are by a complex development. We see the Rows as they exist, and must probe into the past and try and find out what was there before them, and when and how they came into being.

The mere fact that there has been such a number of explanations given is an indication of how little we know of their past history. Yet such facts as have from time to time come to light have been sufficient to upset previous theories. Before, therefore, starting a theory of our own, we must consider such salient facts about the Rows as are now established, and from them we must deduce a theory which will bear the test of known facts, and hope to survive any future discoveries.

And first it must be noted that the Rows are situated in the four principal streets of the City which converge at a central point, and stretch from their meeting place North, South, East, and West, along the sides of Northgate Street, Bridge Street, Eastgate Street, and Watergate Street. These four main streets are, without doubt, the four main streets of ancient Roman Chester. Roman remains amply prove that not only the lines, but the actual breadth of roadway is identical. Roman Chester, however, was not of the same dimensions as the modern City. I cannot here discuss the actual position of the Walls of Roman Chester, though there is a great deal yet to be said on that subject. Suffice it to say that the abundance of Roman remains in the North and East Walls make it probable that the present Walls on those sides are either in the actual place; or, as I prefer to think, in close proximity to the Roman Walls. With regard to the South and West Walls, the matter is entirely different, and, I believe I am right in saying, that no trace of Roman work is to be found in them except in the neighbourhood of the Castle. As there is no doubt that there were Roman fortifications on the site of the Castle, we may safely put down all the Roman work in the South and West Walls to the credit of the Castle and its outworks. Without going into details,

which would take too long, I will ask you to assume that the line of the West Wall, in Roman times, was in the neighbourhood of Linenhall Street; and that of the South Wall in close proximity to Whitefriars and Cupping Lane.

As I have mentioned that interesting locality, I cannot forbear from referring to a statement of Canon Morris, in his *Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods*. I mentioned, when I had the pleasure of addressing you before, the very gloomy views of the vices, debauchery, and disorderly conduct of your forefathers, which Canon Morris develops; views which I deprecated, and, in the one or two instances which came within my scope, I endeavoured to dispel. I cannot, therefore, refrain from quoting, apropos of Cupping Lane, the following sentences from the Canon's book:—

“Fleshmonger's Lane and Barber's Lane point back to the time when those who followed the various trades and occupations grouped themselves in special quarters of the City. Cuppinge's Lone reveals something of the immoral condition of Chester in the middle ages, which the City authorities made repeated but unsuccessful endeavours to improve.”¹

The first of these sentences states an interesting fact which is undoubtedly true, and contains only a small error, which, however, might possibly have saved the Canon a nasty cropper, had he observed it. There was no Lane named Barber's Lane, which the Canon has written in mistake for Barker's Lane, which he gives correctly elsewhere. Now Barker's Lane is no doubt an interesting reminiscence of the tanning trade. But how about the immorality of Cupping Lane. Surely the respectable company of the Barber-Surgeons, equally

¹ p. 255.

ready to crop your hair or draw your blood, by cupping, who doubtless occupied this locality, are above suspicion of immorality. Cannon Morris makes no reflection on the imaginary Barber's Lane of the previous sentence, which, had it existed, would have been a rival to Cupping Lane. But can the Canon really have come upon such a mare's nest; did he really think that he had detected in Cupping Lane some sinister allusions to the good people of Chester being in their cups? Cupping we know; bleeding we know; but cupping, who ever heard of such a euphuism for drunkenness? Next we shall have him casting suspicion on those time-honoured bowling greens of our country villages; bowls of punch will be conjured up; and what we thought the scenes of a harmless amusement, will be shewn to be the habitat of unseemly debauchery.

But to resume: assuming the Walls of Roman Chester to have been in somewhere about the position I have indicated, it will be seen that, with the exception of Northgate Street, the Rows were practically co-extensive with the bounds of Roman Chester. As regards Northgate Street, the Market Place, and Town Hall on the one side, and the Abbey on the other, account for the non-existence of the Rows in that direction. Generally speaking then, we may take it as an established fact that the Rows are co-extensive with Roman Chester; but as, of course, they did not exist in Roman Chester, or indeed until centuries after it had disappeared, why should it happen that they are only to be found within that area, and that there should be no trace of anything of the sort outside what we assume to be the Walls of Roman Chester? The reply is obvious. There must have been some feature of Roman Chester which, however

indirectly or remotely, was the germ from which the Rows were subsequently evolved.¹

The second point we must notice is that the construction of the houses over the Rows is comparatively modern. There are, I think, no houses in the Rows of an earlier date than the seventeenth century; but of these, many have been brought forward in comparatively recent years. In the old prints it will be noticed that many houses do not project, but that the Row is covered by a sloping roof, affording protection to foot passengers. As the tendency has been to bring the houses forward in later years, to afford larger accommodation, it may be assumed that this has been a constant tendency throughout. Accommodation for living, in the middle ages, was meagre. So long as the master had his bedroom, others could shift for themselves; the servants slept in the passages. No proof nowadays is required to demonstrate the fact that living accommodation has immensely improved. Accordingly, the houses over the shops, which were amply sufficient in the middle ages, are all too small to-day; and the covering in of the pent-house front, by enlarging the house to the roadway, is a tendency of later times, which has gradually been taken full advantage of. In the print of 1777 many of the houses had pent-houses over the Rows, but many of the houses were built forward. In

¹ Mr. Hodkinson informs me that the Rows existed, and in some cases still exist, nearly the whole length of Lower Bridge Street. I do not think this in any way affects what I have said. I only offer the southern wall as conjectural, and it is possible that it may have been nearer the river, though I think the general plan of Roman cities favours my conjecture. But even assuming my conjecture to be correct, there were, undoubtedly, Roman defences at the river; and it is quite reasonable to suppose that the roadway, even though outside the walls, was still sufficiently protected for the erection of shops and buildings as far as the river. In either case the existence of Rows in Lower Bridge Street does not affect my theory of the Rows, but only, possibly, my suggestion as to the south Wall.

the print of 1700 almost all the houses had pent-houses, and the projecting houses were the exception. Going a step back, we may fairly assume that originally none of the houses projected, and that the lean-to roof over the Row was the prevailing feature. This at once does away with the theory that the Rows were taken from the first floor of the houses. The houses were, in fact, behind the Rows, with the lean-to protection for foot-passengers in front of them.

The third point of importance is the fact that the shops in the street are, and always have been, for the most part in different ownership to the shops and houses behind them. This will be seen later to be of great importance in arriving at a decision as to the origin of the Rows. The cases in which the shops in front are in the same ownership as the shop behind are exceptional, and can be easily accounted for, as will be seen. That this separate ownership is not a thing of modern times has been clearly proved.

Mr. Taylor¹ has done a great service by recording, in your Proceedings, Deeds which clearly prove that from the earliest times this was the case. He quotes a Deed of 1367, which describes a messuage in Bridge Street with lands on four sides of it in other hands, thus clearly proving that at that time the frontage on which the seldæ were erected was in other hands from the main building. Canon Morris gives numerous instances of the seldæ, or lower shops, being dealt with separately. He quotes a Deed of Edward the I.'s reign which mentions eleven seldæ in Bridge Street. Numerous later Deeds contain mention of these seldæ as separate property. It is certain then that as far back as the time

¹ Journal N.S. II., 149.

of Edward I., the houses in the Rows and the shops under them were in different holdings. A fourth point of prime importance is that these shops below the Row were formerly of a more temporary character than at present. Mr. Cox mentions¹ that "in Bridge Street, below Common Hall Lane, and in Eastgate Street, near the Cross, are found very small shops on the outer side of the Row, shewing how the stall boards were enclosed, first with rails, then with partitions, and so absorbed into the houses."

The name *selda*, which is applied to these shops, denotes a stall or shed. That they have been for a long time enclosed is obvious. So early as the time of Henry V. (1420), Canon Morris gives a Deed which refers to a *shopa* under the Row. But frequently later than that, and universally before that date, these shops are referred to as *seldæ*. The same word is applied to the booths erected in the market during fairs, and undoubtedly removable, and means, generally, a moveable stall or shed. There can be no doubt then that formerly the shops below the Row were more in the nature of moveable stalls; placed there probably, first of all, for markets and fair days, and gradually, as trade extended and became more settled, developing into a permanent shop.

To resume then, we find that in the middle ages the construction of the Rows was as follows:—The Rows existed only in Roman Chester, and were designed thus: the house and shop behind the row, with a lean-to roof over the footway; the stall or shop below the row, in a separate ownership for the most part, and of a more temporary character; perhaps removed, except on

¹ Journal V., 301.

market and fair days; possibly only defined by a post and rails and a few boards brought in on occasion. Lastly, the cellars below the house and behind the lower shop, built behind the Rows for the most part, and in some cases in distinct ownership from either house or shop.

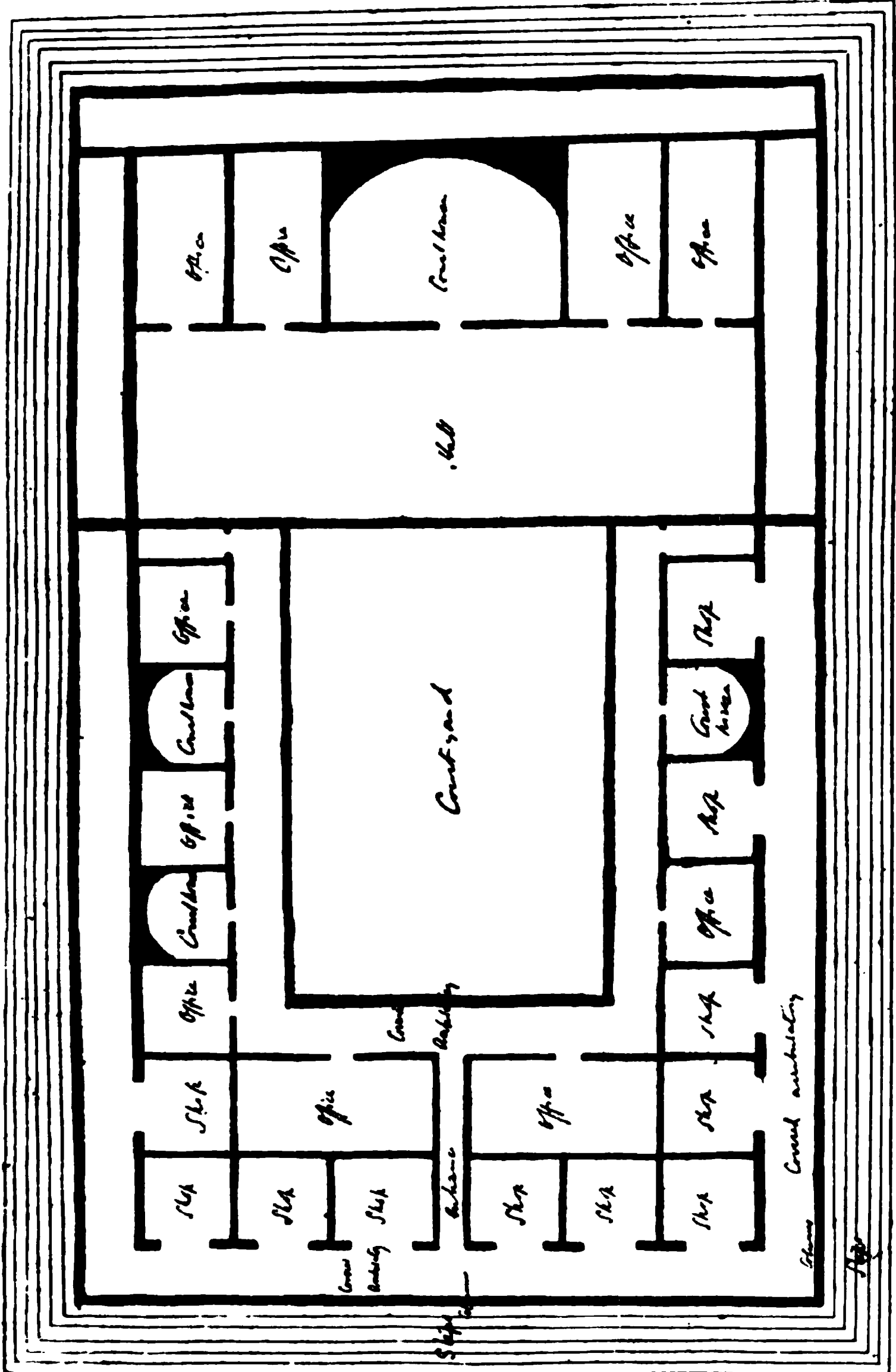
Having thus cleared up our facts as far as we can, let us go back to Roman Chester to see what we can make of the design and construction of that City, which will afford an explanation of the origin of the Rows. We have seen that, owing to the Rows being co-extensive with Roman Chester, it is to Roman Chester we must look for the germ of what afterwards developed into the Rows, not expecting to find, in our examination, any trace of the actual designs of the Rows themselves.

In the scanty space circumscribed by the Walls of Roman Chester, were massed a number of important buildings, public offices, baths, temples, and private houses. The remains of some of these have been unearthed from time to time. In some of the crypts below the houses, the bases of the columns are to be seen with the columns themselves still lying where they fell; the walls of the houses being actually built over the lying columns. From the position of the remains that have been unearthed, it is clear that the Roman buildings were built flush with the present line of the streets, with steps leading from the street to an ambulatory or covered way, under the roof of the main building. Mr. Tite has restored a temple and baths in the *Archæologia* from remains found in Bridge Street; the main features correspond with the Forum and other buildings at Silchester, and no doubt the plan, which I shew here, which is based on the Forum at

Silchester, gives a general idea of the leading features of the public buildings in Chester. Round the building are steps leading to the outer ambulatory; columns at the top of the steps support the roof of the building, thus affording a covering to the ambulatory. In the centre is the entrance to the interior of the building, and on either side of this entrance is a row of shops. These shops are also placed, where convenient, in the side ambulatories. All buildings, whether public buildings or private houses, are built on the same general lines, and have shops in the front. A modern instance of this feature of classical architecture is to be seen in the Royal Exchange at London, which is built on the classic model, and has a row of shops on three sides, but not in the front. The Roman architect, however, would have carried his roof beyond the side walls, placed a row of columns to support it, and carried the steps all round. What a much finer building he would have made of it! The shops at the Royal Exchange would then have faced a covered ambulatory as they did in Roman Chester.

We have then in Roman Chester these four principal streets of much the same width as at present, lined with stately buildings colonnaded, and with steps leading from the roadway. This was undoubtedly the general appearance of Chester in those days. Imagine then the concourse of people assembling in Chester on a market day; and such days were as much a part of the ancient Roman life as of the life of our modern country towns. The country people crowding in with their produce, the casual huckster, the travelling pedlar; all thronged together in the narrow roadway. How many of these would take their stand on the steps of some building; display their wares without danger of being trampled on;

PLATE 3.



A Roman Law Court.

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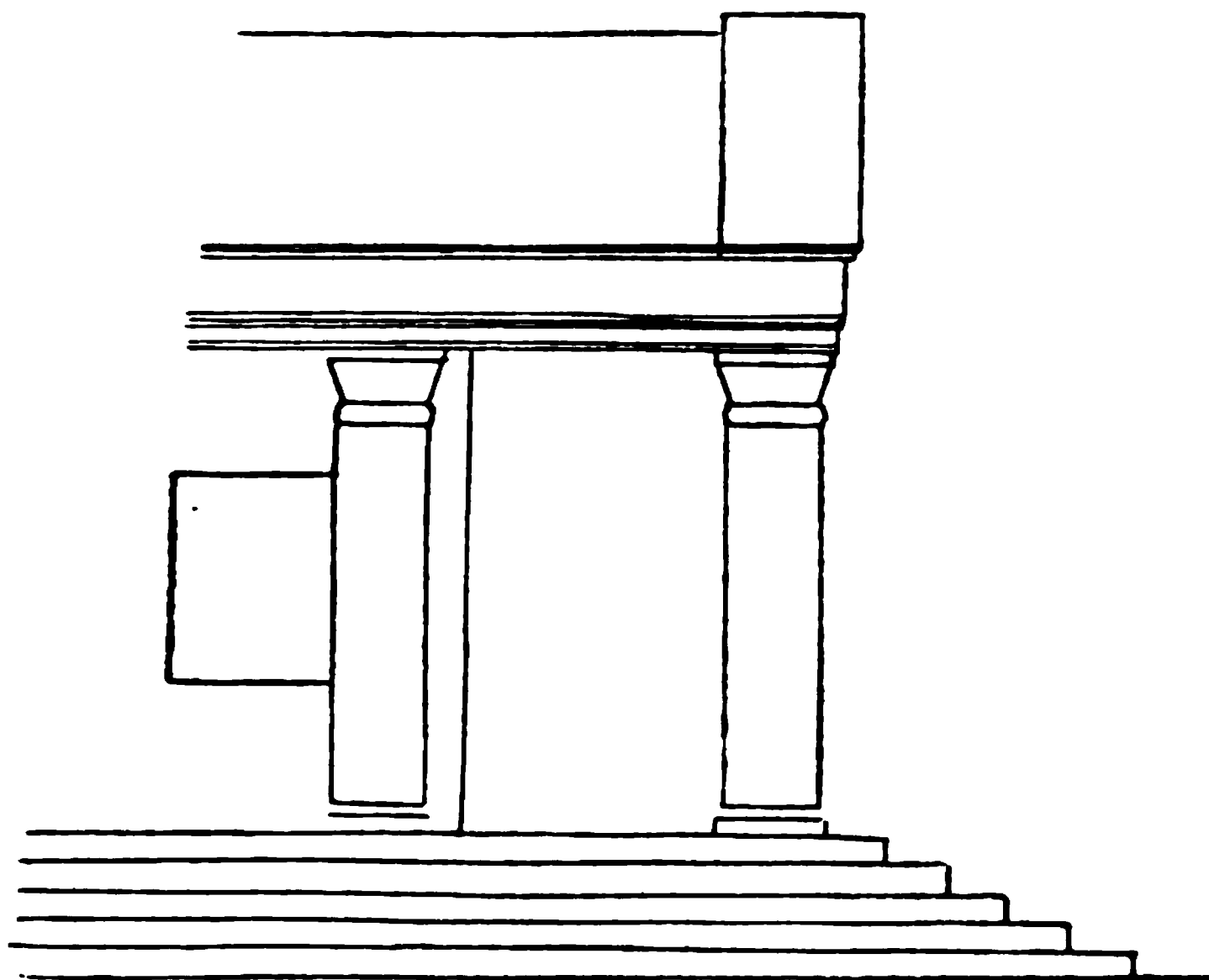
and transact their business at ease. Just as the market square of a country town is covered with booths and stalls, so, in time, the steps of these public buildings would be occupied by traders, who, in process of time, acquired a right by constantly frequenting the same spot, to regard the particular stand as private property. No doubt ample space would be left for ingress and egress; but, otherwise, the steps would soon be pretty well occupied; just as one sees abroad the steps to a Church occupied by beggars or by stall-holders, selling trifling mementoes, pictures, and relics. That there is any improbability in such a right growing up is negatived by the actual experience of London to-day. Could it be conceived that, of all places in the world, it would be possible to acquire a prescriptive right to part of the streets of London? and yet at this day, there are in many streets of London, such as Petticoat Lane, streets in Soho, and many streets in the East End, costermongers who claim a right to a position at the roadside, and who line the streets with stalls and barrows, and whom the Police and the County Council have alike found themselves unable to dislodge.

We can imagine then that in Roman Chester there existed, the threefold ownership, first, the proprietor of the house; then the shopkeeper who held a shop between the private house and the ambulatory; and, lastly, the stall-holder who placed his stall on market days on the steps. It is readily conceivable too that in some instances these three 'ownerships, or any two of them, might be merged. The householder might also own and occupy the shop; and again the shopkeeper might display his wares on the steps before his shop, either from the exigencies of his own business, or to prevent any other trader occupying them. I have seen in country towns

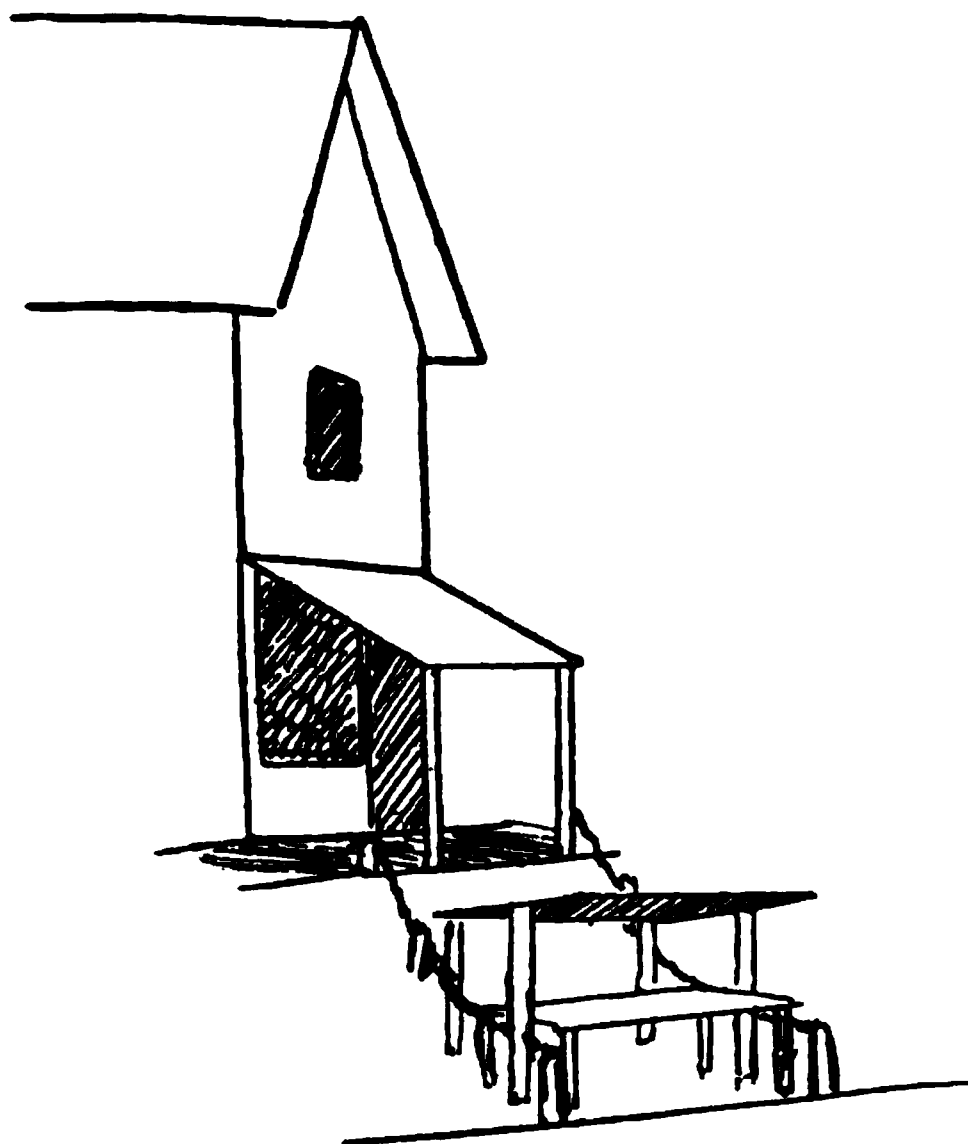
to-day, the shopkeeper occupy half the pavement before his shop with goods ; but in the main, we may take it that there were mainly these three ownerships, the householder, the shopkeeper, and the stall-holder.

And after them came silence ; of the condition of Chester for centuries, we practically are in ignorance. Whether there was any continuity of occupation, whether for centuries the City was desert, or what manner of occupation it may have had, is mere matter of conjecture. It will be sufficient for our purpose to resume the subject at the point where authentic records come to our assistance.

What a contrast is the picture presented. Contemporary writers, at the end of the twelfth century, give us a picture of the ruins of vast palaces, temples, baths, and theatres. It is evident from the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, and Higden of St. Werburgh's that, at that period, many of the Roman remains were still exposed to view, as both of them expatiate on their extent. The Cathedral, the original magnificence of which is now only a matter of conjecture, a portion of St. Werburgh's Abbey, and some other Churches had been erected, but apart from these, the buildings were mostly of wood. The lines of the old Roman streets were retained ; flanking them, in place of the elegant steps, were banks of rubble, with perhaps an occasional stone remaining of the ancient steps. The general height of the ground-level was raised considerably by the ruins of old buildings and the waste and rubbish of ages. On the sites of the old houses were erected wooden structures for shops and dwelling houses. The shops were merely stalls with a projecting roof, probably extending partially over the pathway, affording a shelter to the purchasers, who stood



Frontage of Roman Building.



Frontage of Medieval Building.

some booth or rough shed, such as are set up in the market on market days ; in process of time, these would be left in position.

As can be readily imagined, the Chester of that period was devastated by several disastrous fires. The shrine of St. Werburgh, indeed, served most effectually the purposes of a modern Fire Brigade ; but, on at least three occasions, its services were not brought into action until a great part of the City had been destroyed. Probably, the value of the houses destroyed was not great ; but, as time went on, the merchants and traders had considerable stocks of goods stored, and the loss of these in those days, when fire insurance was unknown, and would have been a suicidal employment, must have been ruinous.

In 1278 the City was almost entirely destroyed by fire. At this period it was becoming the fashion to erect crypts of stone for the storage of goods. The crypts of Hull and Winchelsea are attributed to 1280. The crypts of Chester belong to the same period. It is most probable that the great fire of 1278 led the Chester merchants to consider the safer storage of their goods. Chester, then, was second to no other City in position ; and the merchants of Chester, like the merchants of Hull and Winchelsea, adopted the prudent arrangement of erecting these crypts, that, at all events, their merchandise might be protected from the devastation of these disastrous fires. It does not appear that they carried the same care to the extent of erecting stone dwelling-houses ; that was going too far. For the most part, at all events, the houses were re-erected of timber ; but the fine crypts, which can still be seen, were erected for warehouses.

We find then, about this period of 1280, the crypts below for merchandise; the shops above, with houses over, and a lean-to roof in front, a reminiscence of the Roman ambulatory, to protect the foot-passengers, and attract them to the upper shops.

Below, on the road level, the lines of stalls, perhaps no more than a post and rails, with an occasional stall of timber, for the most part in separate ownership, but occasionally owned by the shop-keeper behind; used, probably, only on market and fair days.

Such, as we have seen, was the arrangement prevailing at the period to which historical documents introduce us. By tracing back, from the present to the past, we arrive at a picture of Chester in mediæval times, such as I have drawn you. What Chester was in Roman and later times I have described to you. There is no great effort of imagination required to bridge the gulf; to erect the Chester of to-day on the ruins of Roman Chester.

The origin of the Rows, then, we may say must be sought for in ancient Chester. The shop of the ambulatory, with its covered way, is perpetuated in the shop in the Row. The stall, for traders on the steps, finds its lineal descendant in the shop in the street. The covering over the Row has given way before the growth of the houses to the front, economising space, and affording better living accommodation.

Without any great revolution in design or architecture, the Rows have developed, by a natural growth, on the lines of the ancient design of Roman Chester. As I have shewn, Canon Morris' facts are useful, but his theory does not commend itself. The shops and houses are more permanent, and of earlier origin, than the

seldæ or stalls; so that he must join the other makers of exploded explanations. I think we have here a workable theory. We do not suppose anything more than a natural and reasonable development from known sources, by simple methods, to a complicated and peculiar, almost a unique, phenomenon. I hope that you may find that I have put before you to-night, what appeals to your reason, as a clear and consistent account of the origin of this remarkable feature of your town.



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B. Nevada Photo

indicate the location of the photograph in the field notes.

The Nave Roof of the Church of ✓ S. Mary-on-the-Hill

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A.,
ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(Read March 19th, 1901)

THE Church and Parish of St. Mary-on-the-Hill have so often, in previous years, engaged the attention of the members of our Society, that an apology seems almost necessary for introducing to their notice any subject connected therewith. But the roof or ceiling of the nave has recently forced itself upon our consideration in a somewhat peremptory and uncomfortable manner; and we have been brought into such close quarters with its construction and details, that we have, necessarily, a more complete and perfect knowledge of its character than we otherwise could possibly have had. On the 3rd of September, 1900, my eyes were turned (as they had often previously been) upwards to the roof, and detected a large fracture in the ridge-beam of the middle bay. The Churchwardens were called in; and, on closer observation, it appeared that the defect was of a serious nature. Immediate steps were taken to secure the safety of the congregation, and the preservation of the roof, by effectually shoring up the faulty beam; and a careful and thorough examina-

tion of the structure was made. From this it became evident that the timbers had been ravaged by the little wood-beetle, *anobium domesticum* (or death-watch), and that all strength had been taken from some of them, so that they were incapable of bearing the weight of the lead, with which the top was covered. If the roof was to be preserved it must, therefore, be carefully taken to pieces. Messrs. Lockwood, the Architects, were called in, and the work was entrusted to Mr. Browne, of Castle Street.

Before proceeding further, I wish to express my obligations to Mr. L. V. Browne, and his foreman and other workmen, for the intelligent interest they have taken in the undertaking, and for the assistance they have rendered to me in the preparation of this Paper, by their careful measurements, and in other ways. To Mr. Lockwood I am particularly indebted for the description of the means adopted for preserving and securing, for future generations, this most interesting heirloom of a former age.

To Mr. Newstead I am under even greater obligations still; for he has devoted much time and care to the taking of photographs for the illustration of this Paper, without which, anything I could say would have been of little interest. I have also to thank Dr. Stolterfoth for his views of the Church and the roof.

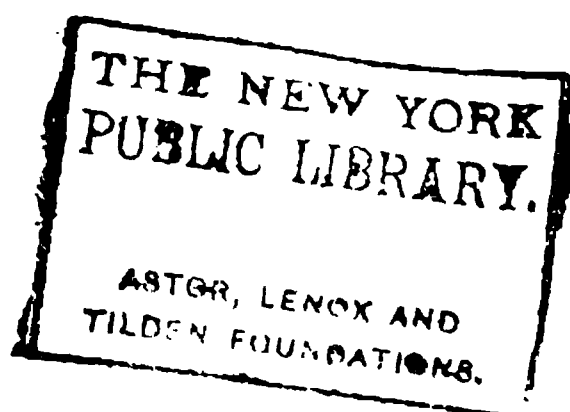
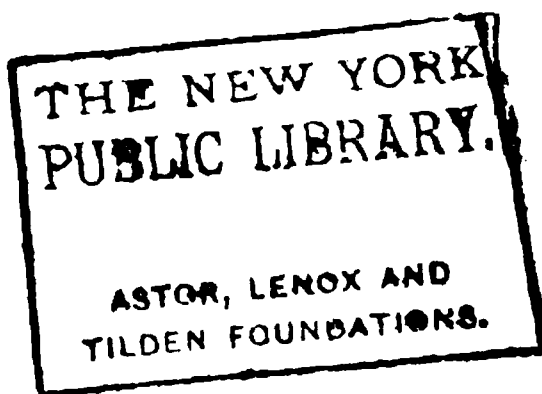
The roof is divided into three bays, practically of equal dimensions. There are, therefore, four principal beams which span the Nave, the faces of which are richly carved: two across the centre of the Church and one close to the chancel and tower walls respectively. The construction may be said to be very simple. From the ridge beam in each bay, four rafters run on each side, and rest upon

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Central Bay of Roof of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester (looking up).

Printed, Photo.

View of Central Beam (looking East) in St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.



the wall-plate ; these are, of course, carved or moulded. Between the rafters (as I have termed them) run, east and west, three cross-rafters or beams, so that the space between every two rafters is divided into four squares (as we may term them) and thus each bay of the roof contains forty of these squares—twenty on each side of the ridge-beam. The intersections of the rafters with the ridge are marked by elaborately carved bosses of oak, and the intersections of the rafters with the cross-rafters, or smaller beams, by similar bosses of slightly smaller dimensions. From these bosses spring elegant spandrels (also of oak) at each joint of the beams. Where the rafters meet the principal beam or the wall-plate, are half-bosses of a triangular shape of a similar character. The main bosses are carved out of square pieces of oak of $1\frac{1}{2}$ -inch thickness, but are set diagonally at the intersections, so that the formality of the square design is not apparent. The wall-plate (also of oak, save where repairs in recent years had taken place) was carved with a beautiful pattern ; but the inner portion had become so decayed by defects in the leaden gutter outside, that the whole has had to be carefully renewed in oak ; the original design, of course, being carefully copied. The spaces between the rafters above the wall-plate were filled in with short pieces of oak, ornamented with carving of a somewhat similar character. This framework of the roof was covered with thin boards of cleft oak, which must have been taken out of timber of large dimensions. Over these were placed other boards of a rougher character, and on these was originally laid the outer covering of lead. At the restoration of the Church in 1891, the weight of this upon the ceiling was slightly relieved by constructing over it a simple roof of spars, on which fresh boards and

new lead were placed; but such relief could not have been very great; and the pressure of the roof and lead gradually made itself felt on the ceiling below, and may, therefore, have contributed to the fracture of the ridge already alluded to. The decay, however, of the timbers was of such a nature, that their own weight would probably have led to an early collapse, without any external causes. Unfortunately, no photograph was taken of the fractured beam when it was taken down; but some idea of the mischief may be gathered from the fact that the fissure measured $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at its opening, and that the beam had cambered or sunk to the depth of more than a foot in its length of 15 or 16 feet.

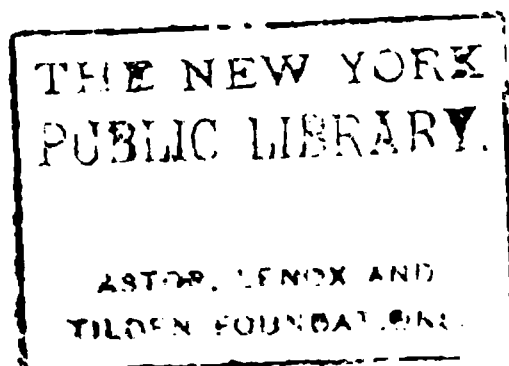
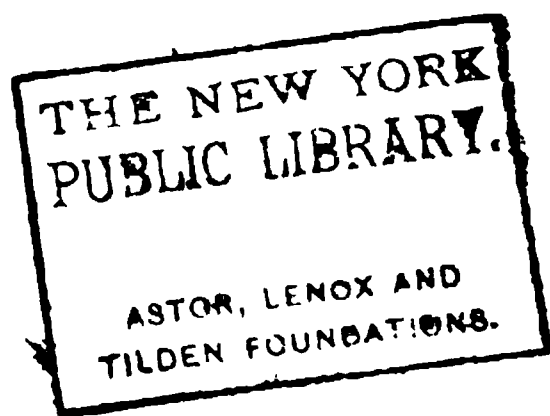
Some remarks on the condition of the roof, supplied by Messrs. Lockwood, will be of interest at this point:—

“When we were called in, the fractured ridge-piece in the centre bay had been propped up by Mr. Browne, who has since carried out the work of reconstruction. We very carefully examined this bay, and found that the joints had nearly all gone; some had quite decayed, and the ceiling had bulged out in two or three places. It was decided to take the whole of this down and carefully examine it for refixing. A temporary roof was put up to protect the Church from weather, so that the work might be carried on without interruption. On further examination the other bays were found to be in the same condition, although the ridges had not actually cracked, but had bent; and a number of the panels had bulged out very badly and were unsafe. Some of the main rafters were very much decayed, especially where they came in contact with the wall. In the bay next the Tower, the ceiling had been partially restored with deal; this has now been replaced by oak.”

At this point it may be well to allude to the manner in which the injury to this portion of the ceiling occurred. Originally, the Church had a low embattled

R. W. G. Photo.

Selection of Carved Oak Bosses in the Middle Bay of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.



Tower, as is shown in the drawing by the late Miss G. F. Jackson. The Rev. Canon Bowen, in 1861, made an appeal to the parishioners and citizens generally for funds to carry out certain improvements in the Church. Amongst them, was "the raising of the present unsightly and diminutive Tower, externally, 25 feet." This was done by building an additional storey, to which the bells were raised, and by also erecting very lofty pinnacles on the top, with an elegant balustrade connecting them. In the autumn of 1863, during a heavy gale, one of these pinnacles was blown down and crashed in upon the roof of the Church. I have not been able to obtain any accurate information as to the accident itself, or the reconstruction of the roof at that time. I have ascertained that in July, 1864, it was decided to lower, by one-third, the pinnacles on the Tower; and for this purpose a Church rate of 4d. in the £ was passed in Vestry. I have learnt, also, that the roof was repaired by Mr. Bellis, a builder in this City at that time; but the repair was not of a very satisfactory nature. The ridges and several of the rafters, and the wall-plate, were replaced by deal, as were also the panels that were damaged. Some of the rafters had had their ends broken by the fall of the masonry upon them, and they were made to do duty again by a piece of iron (say half-inch thick), which was bolted to them, and then rested upon the ridge. Only one of the bosses, apparently, was destroyed; and this again was replaced by deal in a very indifferent fashion, as may be seen from inspection now. It is needless to say that oak has been substituted for deal wherever the latter was found.

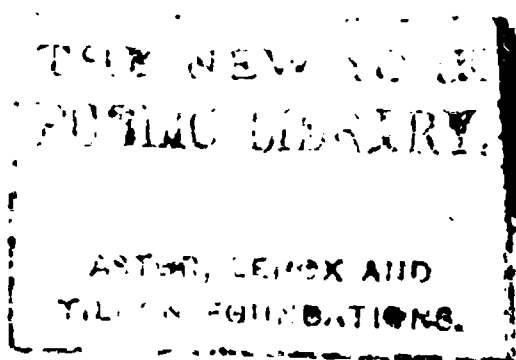
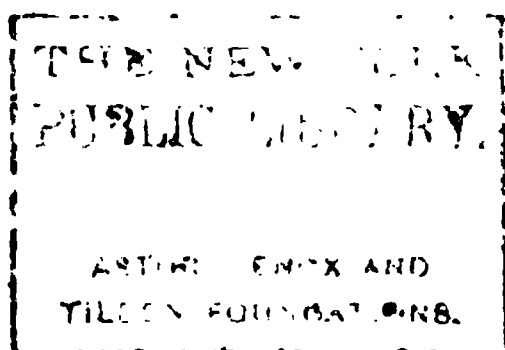
Whether it was at this time, or before, that the dull greyish stain or paint was applied to the whole of the ceiling, I am unable to say. At any rate, that was the

tone or colour which it had when we took it down. The wood-beetles had made such ravages that each piece of timber, as it was taken down, had to be treated with chemicals to destroy them; whilst, afterwards, it was saturated with turpentine. In this process, when this greyish tint was removed, the colouring which had previously existed came to light. On the bosses the paint was remarkably fresh and well preserved. It had a strong glaze and was as hard as ivory when tested. The raised carving or pattern was invariably white; the sunk groundwork was of various colours—vermilion, blue, and sometimes black. The rafters and beams had also been coloured, but, apparently, with some different kind of pigment. Occasionally, a crack in the wood appeared to have been covered with paper before the colour was applied; it was a matter of doubt what the original colour had been. So far as I was able to observe at my visits to the Church there was no design upon the beams; not even those transverse lines of various colours which you sometimes see on old oak screens or roofs. There are traces of a dull red, of a sky-blue, and of a stone colour; so that each of these may have, at different times, been the pervading colour of the roof. At any rate, in the uncertainty which prevailed, it was not deemed advisable to re-colour the timbers; so they have been thoroughly cleansed, and treated with boiled oil. The bosses, on the other hand, have been left as they were found. Very few required touching up, and when this was done, great care was taken to restore the original colour. Some of those which look the newest and the freshest have not been touched at all.

Some remarks on the carving of these bosses will perhaps be expected. I speak with considerable diffi-

instead, Photo.

Selection of Carved Oak Bosses in the East Bay of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.



dence before those who are better able than I am to comment on their beauty; but what strikes my untutored mind, is the wonderful variety of design which is exhibited in these treasures of a past age. I think I am correct in saying that no two are exactly alike. When you think you have found two identical, you discover, on closer inspection, some slight difference in the detail. I cannot but think that they would form an excellent object lesson to the students in wood-carving of the present day; it is difficult for an inexperienced person to enlarge upon these designs; beside their manifold variety, their gracefulness and beauty are unquestionable. Look at some of those interlaced patterns and mark the ingenuity with which the skilful workman has executed them! Look at those circular bosses, and note the clever way in which variety is introduced into the same uniform idea of a star! Look at the beautiful elaboration of the larger bosses which deck the ridge beam! And as you look at all these points, and at the countless others which will strike the eye of the artist, are you not sure that the carver (or carvers if there were more than one) fully entered into the spirit of the Psalmist; gave his whole heart to the work, and was resolved, in the decoration of God's House, to praise God with the best member that he had? And then, on some of the bosses of the central bay you see the letters M.A.R.I.A., corresponding to the dedication of the Church to S. Mary. The character of these, as of the I.H.S. in the eastern bay, may guide the expert in assigning a fairly accurate date to this work. But this I, as a tyro, will not attempt to do.

Before proceeding to deal with the method adopted for securing the roof for the future, it will be well to give some particulars as to the structure. The length

of the roof, then, is 49 feet; and its width 20 feet 6 inches; the length of each bay is thus a little over 16 feet. The panels in the bays are not perfect squares, being 2 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 4 inches. The circular bosses are carved out of wood of a thickness of a couple of inches, and have a diameter of 13 inches; the other bosses are made of wood of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; and whilst those on the ridge are $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, those on the rafters are 9 inches square. The cleft oak boards which form the panels have a thickness of $\frac{1}{2}$ -an-inch. The trees out of which the principals have been cut must have been very massive, as the beams have measured 22 feet in length, with a depth of 2 feet 4 inches, and a thickness of 1 foot 8 inches.

One other matter of very great interest must be mentioned. When the roof was being taken down it was found that on the eastern end of the short cross-rafters, on the upper side, was a series of "joiners' marks," made with a chisel, and of the depth of a quarter of an inch or more, which must have corresponded with a key-plan when the roof was originally constructed, or when it was moved (if moved it was) to its present position; these marks form a very interesting collection. Here, again, I have to express my great obligations to Mr. Newstead, who first took careful rubbings of the marks; then prepared tracings of these in black; and, finally, took photographs of the series for reproduction; the series gives evidence of remarkable ingenuity on the part of the workmen. Some of the marks are, of course, very simple, but others are more elaborate. For instance, in the middle bay is a very well-formed capital letter A of the Tudor period. There are, naturally, some duplicates—as the heart, the pair of spectacles, and others of a more simple design. Some

Selection of Carved Oak Bosses in the East Bay of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.

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look, to an uninitiated person, almost Masonic in their character; and some call to our minds hieroglyphic or cuneiform inscriptions. A few of the rubbings were submitted by Mr. Seddon (who was the Architect at the restoration in 1891) to Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, the present Architect to Westminster Abbey. He writes:—

“The carpenter’s marks are curious. I take it that they are not, as such marks in masonry, the marks of individual workmen, but are meant as guides in putting up the roof. The roof would be framed together below and the pieces marked, so that they would be put in their proper places when fixed above. We have a very curious lot of such marks in the bronze screen round Henry VII’s Tomb. Here they are numbers; but our Chester friends seem not to have been able to cypher beyond five, and used other marks. These marks, however, seem to be correlated; and by putting each in its place on a plan of the roof, the system might be recovered. Some of the marks are Tudor capital letters.”

The reconstruction of the roof so as to secure its safety was no easy matter, and will be best described in Mr. Lockwood’s own words:—

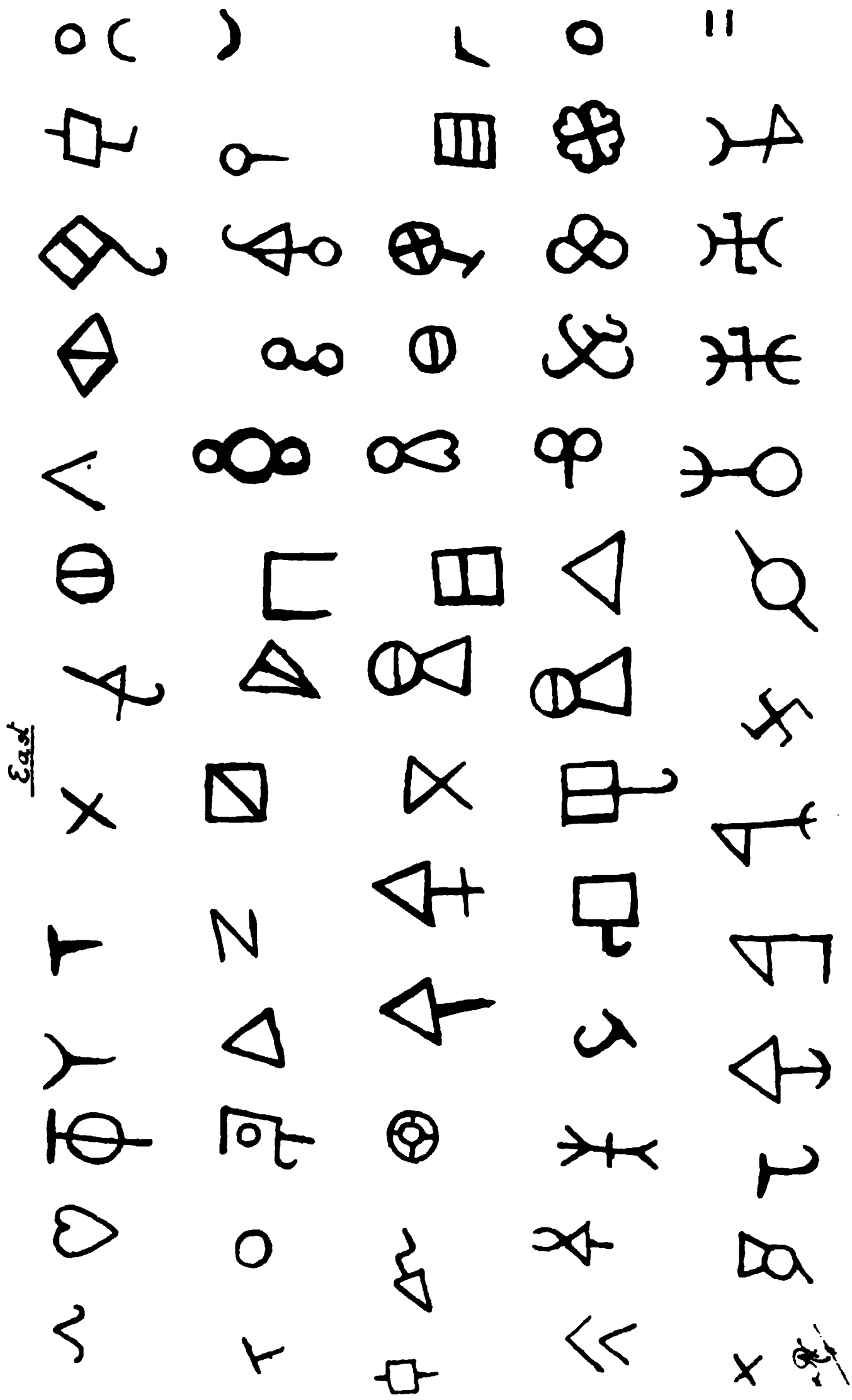
“As there is so little space between the ceiling and the lead-flat it was decided to use steel construction. By putting in the steel work the height of the roof was kept practically the same as before, and very little extension of the lead previously used was necessary. The main steel principals were specially made to the shape of the roof, and, being strengthened with steel angle-plates, were placed in the centre of each bay, as it was not found possible to get the proper support for them over the main oak beams. The 8 inches by 5 inches steel ridge-piece was riveted into the main girders, and also secured to the wall of the Tower and above the Chancel arch, so that this steel frame work now supports the whole of the roof and the ceiling. Wherever it was necessary, the ceiling was bolted up to the construction above by bolts hidden in the oak. The old lead flat is supported by new red deal rafters; the space between the rafters and the ceiling being well ventilated, and a layer of silicate of cotton, two inches deep, laid on the panels.”

It may be added that the rejected beams have been placed in the sills of the windows of the north aisle of the Church for preservation and for future inspection. The carving on the decayed wall-plates was, where possible, taken off and veneered on to other wood, and has been placed above the curtains in the Sanctuary of the South Chapel.

The question naturally arises, what is the date of the work? Mr. Micklethwaite assigns it to the time of Henry VII.; he has been guided to this judgment by the photographs of the bosses and rubbings of the carpenters' marks which he saw, and by the reproduction of Messrs. Valentine's photograph of the roof. It has been suggested (if not actually asserted) that the roof was brought from Basingwerke Abbey in 1536. I do not know whether there is any old tradition to this effect, or whether it arises from a paragraph in Mr. Earwaker's History of the Church and Parish. At any rate an entry occurs in the Churchwardens' Accounts of 1536, stating that in that year "the quere (or choir) was boght at basewerke, and sette uppe with all costs and chargis belonging to the same." Does the "quere" mean the roof of the Choir of the Abbey, or does it refer to a screen or to stall work? If either of the latter, no trace of them is to be found in the Church now, nor have I been able to gather any record of them. If the former, we naturally ask whether anything has come to light which would indicate that the roof has been brought from elsewhere, and was not constructed originally for the position it now occupies. I may here say that both Mr. Seddon and Mr. Micklethwaite doubt the story of its being brought from Basingwerke, though they naturally and rightly leave it to those on the spot to decide as to the probability of the story. Mr. Seddon

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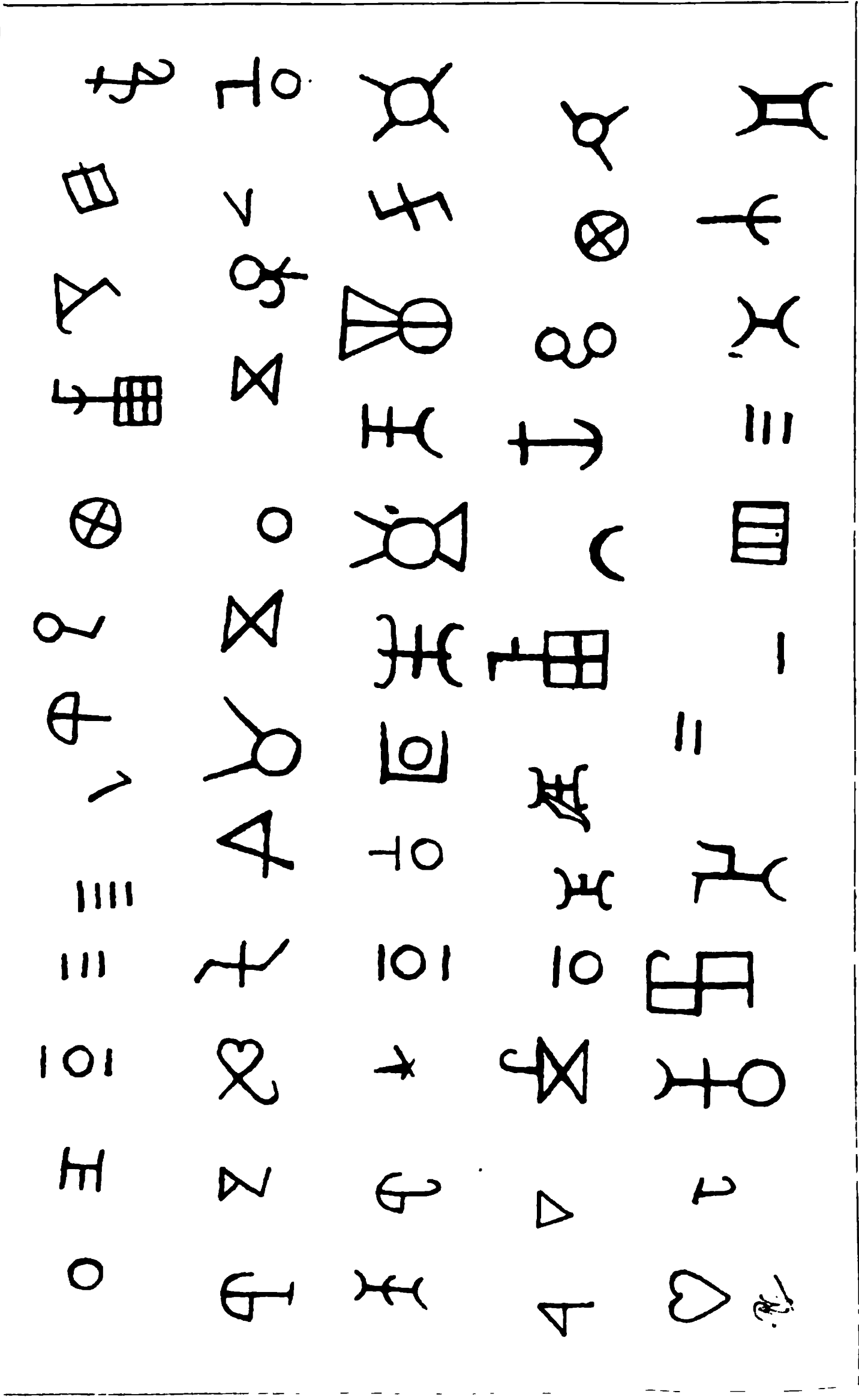
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



R. Newstead, del.

Joiners' Marks on rafters and beams of the Roof of the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester.

Looking east, and reduced to one-tenth actual size.



R. Newstead, del.

Joiners' Marks on rafters and beams of the Roof of the Church of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, Chester.

Looking east, and reduced to one-tenth actual size

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

adds, "1536, in the 16th Century, is hardly a date for such a removal, though I fancy one was moved to Llanidloes Church from Cwm Hir Abbey, in Mid Wales, and possibly about that date; but its having been moved from somewhere is pretty patent as it does not fit." Perhaps Mr. Seddon had forgotten the fact that the dissolution of the Monasteries would furnish the opportunity for such removals at that time.

We return to our question: is there any indication in the work that the roof has been brought from another place? I think both Architect and Builder have satisfied themselves that there is. Though a fairly good fit to the Nave of S. Mary's, it would seem as if some filling up had been necessary at the Tower end; whereas, if it had been made for the Nave it would have fitted exactly. Then the principal next the Chancel was found to be moulded, not only on the side exposed to view, but also on the inner side, which is hidden by the wall. This would point to its probably having occupied a position in another place, where both sides could be seen; some lengthening or bolting of other rafters might also be owing to the fact that the roof had to be made to fit a new position. It was also found that the principals do not come over the centre of the pillars which support the main arches of the Church, as they would naturally have been expected to do if the roof was made originally for the Church; the windows in the Clerestory have, however, been set out to work in with the roof. Possibly, the earlier high-pitched roof (the line of which can be observed on the inside of the Tower) was done away with, and the Clerestory added to accommodate the present flat ceiling.

It is only fair to state some of the arguments that may be urged on the other side. The bosses do not generally

show traces of having been moved; at least there are, as a rule, only marks of their having been fixed with one set of nails. If, therefore, they had ever been taken off (as would be necessary when the roof was taken down), the nails must have been driven into the holes previously made. Then, the semi-circular boss, on the principal next to the Chancel, has not been cut to suit its present place, but has been made for the position it now occupies. This, again, might easily have been done at the re-erection of the roof after removal. Though I have thus given the *pros* and the *cons*, it is only right to add that Mr. Lockwood is convinced that the roof was not originally made for S. Mary's Church, but was brought there from some other Church. The letters M.A.R.I.A., in the middle bay, would not really tell against such a contention, for they might only show that the dedication of the Church from which it was brought was the same (a by no means unlikely supposition); or that, on the re-erection of the roof, the bosses bearing these letters were substituted for others.

If we suppose that the ceiling was brought from another place, can we show the probability of its having come from Basingwerke Abbey? We have, of course, the entry in the Churchwardens' Accounts to show that something from the Choir of that Monastery was set up in the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill; it has been presumed that this was the roof. We know that there is a tradition that the roof of Cilcain Church, near Mold, came from Basingwerke; but this may have been taken from the Refectory or some other portion of the Abbey. It is, I am told, an interesting specimen of the double hammer-beam pattern; and evidently, from the position of the principals, was not made for that Church. The Vicar of Cilcain informed me that a gentleman

from Holywell had told him, some time ago, that it was his grandfather's horses that had brought the roof there! whilst the father of the present Squire of Penbedw had said that an old clerk burnt some of the surplus timber, as if more timber than was required had been brought there. Putting these two stories together, and supposing them to be true, it seems as if some building belonging to the Abbey had been taken down (say in the 18th Century) and the roof taken to Cilcain—though this is almost incredible.

To return to the roof of S. Mary's; I shall once more quote Mr. Lockwood's words, who visited Basingwerke on March 9th, hoping to find out the width and length of the Choir, to see if the bays at S. Mary's corresponded with those of the Abbey. He writes:—

“Unfortunately, it was impossible to get any measurements in the Choir without excavation. We were able to measure the length and width of the Nave—the length being 98 feet 6 inches, and the width 23 feet 1 inch; the width of S. Mary's is 20 feet 6 inches. At Basingwerke there was a central tower, so that it would be necessary for the Choir there to be the same width as the Nave, 23 feet 1 inch, in order to get the abutment for carrying the weight of the Tower arches. If this was the case, and the roof was the whole width, it would have been necessary, in fixing the roof at S. Mary's, to reduce the length of the principals or main beams; this has not been done. There might, however, have been both in the Nave and in the Choir at Basingwerke, a projecting shaft in arcade columns going up to support the main beams; if this was so, they would just about fit S. Mary's Nave in width. With regard to the division of the bays in length, the bays in S. Mary's are 16 feet 1½ inches; and if the Nave at Basingwerke were divided into 6 bays they would be 16 feet 4 inches, or practically the same. Even if the bays had not been the same length, it would have been possible to shorten the intermediate ribs forming the panels on to main rafters to make the roof work in. The architecture at Basingwerke is no doubt much

earlier than this roof; but the ruin does not give any indication of the style of architecture of the Clerestory in the Choir where the roof would be fixed."

It may be gathered from this quotation that Mr. Lockwood is strongly in favour of the view that the ceiling *was* brought from Basingwerke.

I feel that I have already trespassed too long upon your patience, but I hope I may have roused some interest in this relic of the past. We certainly shall need not merely interest, but very substantial help, to meet the heavy expenditure which the work (and it has been done *most* satisfactorily) has entailed. The poor Parish of S. Bridget must throw itself on the generosity of the Citizens of Chester to enable it to pay for the preservation of this most precious, artistic treasure.



A descriptive account of Roman and other objects recovered from various sites in Chester and District, 1898-1901

BY R. NEWSTEAD, A.L.S., F.E.S., &c.,

CURATOR OF THE GROSVENOR MUSEUM

THIS Paper, written by special request of the Council, is a continuation of former articles, given in the Society's Journal,¹ on similar subjects. All data has been obtained by personal investigation of the various sites; the information thus obtained should form a valuable register for future reference. Mr. F. Haverfield,² and also the writer,³ have dealt with the Roman lead water-pipes bearing Agricola's name, but no detailed account of the find has previously appeared in the Society's Journal.

The records are taken chronologically, commencing with the excavations in Eastgate Street North in July 1898, and ending with the excavations in Bridge Street East in November 1901.

¹ Newstead, *Journal of the Chester Architect., Arch., and Hist. Society*, Vol. VI., pp. 156-162, 395-399.

² Haverfield, *Catalogue of Inscribed Stones, &c.*, p. 86, fig. 199.

³ Newstead, *Reliquary*, Vol. VI., p. 114, figs. 1-4; Vol. VII., pp. 45-51, figs. 1-5.

EXCAVATIONS IN EASTGATE STREET (NORTH) ON THE PREMISES OF MR. GEORGE DUTTON, JULY 1898.

These excavations were made on the west side of Godstall Lane,¹ the northern limit being 163 feet from the frontage of Eastgate Street. The soil was removed to a depth varying from 8 to 11 feet from the surface in Godstall Lane; the floor line of the excavations reaching, practically, to the level of Eastgate Street, and consisted of the upper stratum of the Triassic Sandstone.

Lararium (fig. 1). The first discovery of importance occurred at the western limit of the excavation adjoining Mr. Barber's yard. It consisted of a comparatively small

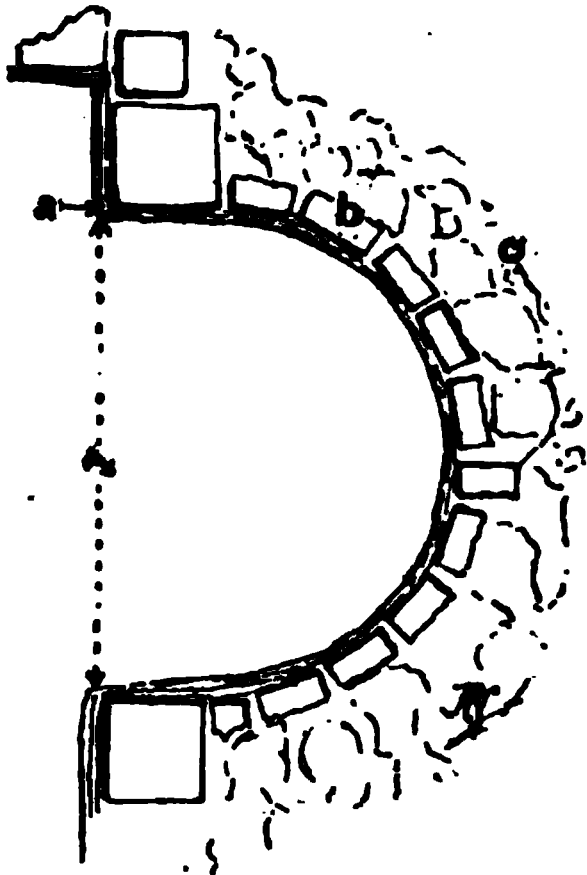


Fig. 1.—Ground Plan of *Lararium*, looking North:

- (a) Wall-plaster;
- (b) Seven-inch tiles, divided;
- (c) Broken rock and mortar, backed up by soil (original).

semi-circular structure of masonry and brickwork, forming a wall about 36 inches high, the opening of which faced almost due west. The three lower and three upper courses were formed of bricks; the three intermediate courses of masonry. The bricks measured 7 inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, had evidently been made by cutting a 7-inch square tile in two, as one edge of all the specimens was fractured, the fracture in some cases being away from the line or suture made by the

workman. This superstructure rested upon a ground-work of tiles, three sizes being employed: the first course (east) consisting of five 7-inch tiles; the second of five 11 inches square; the third of five, and the fourth of six,

¹ This thoroughfare, previously known as London Bakers' Yard, and more recently as Booth's Court, was so named about 25 years ago, and should not be confounded with an ancient lane of the same name, which formerly existed, probably between St. Werburgh's and the Eastgate.

16 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 11 $\frac{4}{10}$ inches. The wall had evidently been plastered before the concrete floor was put in, as the plaster was continued right down to the base of the structure; it consisted of three distinct layers:—

- (1) Very finely pounded brick (inner);
- (2) Chiefly of coarse sand (middle);
- (3) Of finely broken calcite or calc spar (outer).

The outer layer, formed of innumerable broken crystals, must have presented a very pleasing effect when perfect; but its non-adherent character rendered it very friable and difficult to remove intact. The concrete floor, inclusive of the underlying course of tiles, was 7 inches thick; this was covered first with a layer 12 inches thick, of finely worked clay, upon which rested a second layer of the same thickness, of finely selected gravel. It has been suggested that this structure was a *Lararium* or place for the Gods; but may it not have been used for the storage of *Amphoræ*, the pointed bases of which could easily have been buried in the beds of gravel and clay, which would have afforded the vessels the necessary support. Mr. May suggests that *Absis* would be a better name for this structure.

Hippo-Sandal. An example, in a very fair state of preservation, was found immediately behind the wall of the *Lararium*. It resembles, in almost every detail, the examples found at Silchester, Wroxeter, and elsewhere, but is believed to be the first of its kind found at Chester. It is supposed that these peculiar shaped iron shoes were in some way attached to the horse's hoof by means of straps, and that they acted as shackles or "hobbles," and prevented the animals from wandering far afield. In his *Guide illustré du Musée de Saint Germain*, M. Reinach gives an excellent figure of a Roman monumental stone, on which is represented the figure of a "*Vétérinaire*" or Groom, holding in his left

hand a strap or band, to the end of which is attached a hippo-sandal or iron shoe, which, so far as one can judge from the drawing, is of a similar character to the Chester-found example. The strap in question is shown attached to the long upright piece of iron which forms the toe-piece to the sandal, at the end of which is a loop or hook for its attachment. Whether the strap was attached to the body, or fastened round the leg above the knee, is doubtful. Only one strap is shown in the engraving, but there can be little doubt that a second one was employed, and fastened to the projecting heel-piece, and possibly made secure by passing it round the leg, either above or below the fetlock-joint.

Wooden Spade (fig. 2). This was also found lying on the east side of the *Lararium*, and may probably have been used in its erection. It is made of split oak, scarcely three-quarters of an inch thick; is 15½ inches long, and its greatest width 6 inches; in the centre, opposite the shoulder of the blade, is a large rectangular hole, with the upper and lower sides sloping in opposite directions; and above this, two circular holes, rather wide apart. Apparently, the shaft of the implement was fitted into the rectangular hole, the sloping ends of which gave the shaft the required angle, and was evidently made secure by passing two wooden pegs through the holes from the ventral

Fig. 2.
Roman Spade, made from
split oak (original).

surface upwards. Portions of the pegs were still traceable when the object was first unearthed. This implement is

of precisely the same design as the two examples found in certain Roman lead-workings in Shropshire, which were described and figured in one of the early volumes of the *Intellectual Observer*. In the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society is a similar implement of wood, differing from the Chester and Shropshire examples in having a long rectangular slit extending from the lower or cutting edge, in addition to the hole at the shoulder. This example, found in a wooden coffin with the remains of an Anglian male, is described as a "paddle."

Concrete Floor. At a higher level, about three feet from the base line of the excavations, or from the base of the *Lararium*, were the remains of a large concrete floor, which extended from about eight feet east of the latter structure to the line of Godstall Lane. It was composed of the ordinary fragments of roofing tiles or *tegulae* and mortar, but presented a very uneven surface, upon which the objects described below were found, indicating that it was probably the floor of a bronze worker's shop.

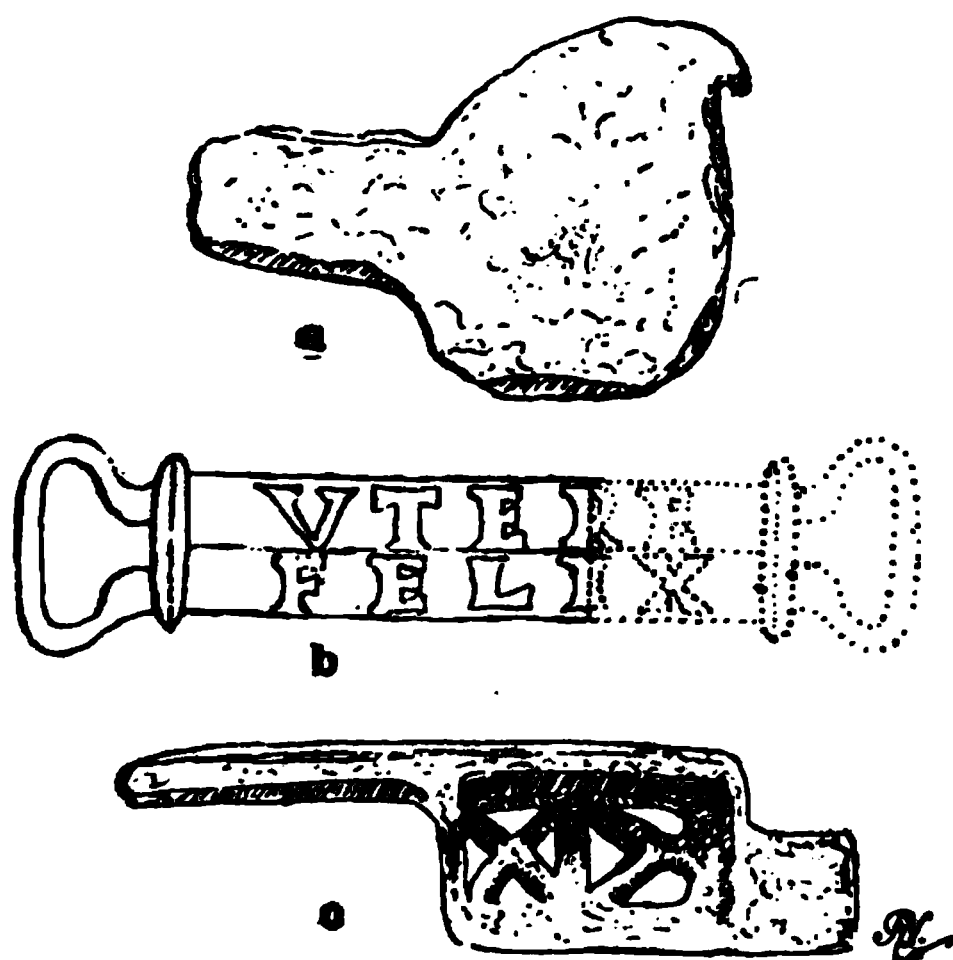


Fig. 3.

(a) Bronze Bit; (b) Personal Ornament; (c) Bronze Bolt of Lock
(All natural size—original).

Bronze Slip
(fig. 3 b), bearing
the inscription
VTERE
FELIX

in bold enamelled
Roman letters,
alternately of
green and red.
The motto "Use
and be thankful,"
or some such ren-
dering, has been
met with else-
where on a pre-
cisely similar strip

of bronze, and is described¹ as a saucepan handle; but I am inclined to think that the Chester specimen formed part of a personal ornament, and that the buckle-shaped terminal was intended for a leather or some such pliable attachment, and that the opposite end was of a similar design, as shown by the dotted lines. The motto has also been found on a drinking vessel,¹ in which case it may have had a slightly different meaning. Length $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches, width $\frac{3}{8}$ inch. The terminal letters in both lines are wanting.

Bronze Bar. $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and nearly $\frac{5}{8}$ inch square.

Bronze Bolt of Lock (fig. 3 c). Perfect, and bearing the ordinary perforated design. Length 2 inches, width $\frac{5}{8}$ inch.

Bronze (?) Umbo of Shield. Circular, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, with four equidistant "lugs" or perforated flanges for attachment. Greatest diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, *i.e.*, from tip to tip of flange. The centre is considerably sunk, as if for the reception of enamel.

Bronze Fibulæ. Two examples of the ordinary harp type were found, one of them being in fairly perfect condition but minus the *acus* or pin.

Bronze (?) Centre-bit (fig. 3 a). This implement somewhat resembles a modern joiner's centre-bit, but it is doubtful if it were used for a similar purpose.

Pottery. Fragments of *mortaria*; red-glazed Samian ware; cinerary urns in Upchurch ware; and necks of water-bottles or *ampullæ* in terra-cotta, were found in some numbers; but none of the fragments possessed designs of unusual types.

¹ *Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, No. XXII., Vol. IV., pp. 337-341, with a plate.

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PLATE 12.

H. Newstead, Photo.

Section of Roman Lead Water-pipe found in Eastgate Street (North) in 1899, bearing an inscription to Agricola. (See page 87).

Actual length of Inscribed Panel, 3 feet 10½ inches long by 2 inches broad.

It was intended to give also the other Illustrations used in MR. HAVKRFIELD'S Catalogue of the *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones*, but the blocks, by inadvertence, have been mislaid while in the temporary possession of the Society of Antiquaries.

Bronze Bell. A small five-sided example, with slight projections on the rim at the point where the radiating ridges terminate. Height $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Glass. A doubtful fragment of Roman glass was found, which is of such an unusual character and design, that it cannot be correctly assigned to this period.

Herring-bone Pavement. A detached fragment, measuring 21 inches by 20 inches, was found about midway between the *Lararium* and the concrete floor previously referred to. This example makes the third of its kind found in Chester,¹ which is rather remarkable, seeing that it occurs freely at certain other Roman Stations. This form of pavement was known to the Romans as the *spicata testacea*, from the resemblance it bears to the structure of a spike or ear of corn. The tiles are well-proportioned, and measure, on the upper face, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 1 inch, the depth being 2 inches. They are embedded in a thick layer of concrete, in the same way as tessellated pavements, and were generally employed in open courts, such as the *Basilica*, &c.

EASTGATE STREET (NORTH), UNDER THE PREMISES OF
MESSRS. RICHARD JONES & CO. (FORMERLY OAKES
& GRIFFITHS), AUGUST TO OCTOBER, 1899.

This excavation yielded one of the most important finds of recent years. The first traces of Roman work found were a series of drains, formed of a base-work of broad flat roofing tiles, with the sides and top of roughly dressed sandstone.

Roman Lead Water-pipes. On the 9th of October, 15 feet of lead water-pipes were dug out, and, during

¹ Brushfield, *Jour. Chester Arch. Soc.*, Vol. III. (1885), p. 33, with illustration.

my absence, the longest piece was broken into four convenient lengths for removal. The latter was lying due east and west, and measured 11 feet $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. A shorter length, 4 feet 6 inches long, was lying almost at right-angles to the former, and almost due north and south. The greatest length bears the following inscription, on a raised panel 3 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 2 inches broad, the letters practically filling the whole space:—

IMP: VESP: VIIII T: IMP: VII: COS CN: IVLIO
AGRICOLA LEG: AVG: PR: PR.

The third section (plate 13, fig. 2a) bears a characteristic joint, upon which are faint traces of a line of letters, and beneath them, more clearly, the letter F (*Fecit*); but the whole is quite illegible, and must remain doubtful. On the opposite side of the pipe, beyond the joint, and on the succeeding section is a repetition of part of the inscription:—

O: AGRICOLA LEG: AVG: PR: PR.

The pipe bearing the remainder of the inscription could be traced eastwards beneath the adjoining property. By kind permission of the owner (Mr. J. B. Royle) the necessary permission to excavate for the remainder of the pipe was granted, and on September the 10th of the following year the relic was unearthed. It measured 5 feet 3 inches long, and bears the remainder of the inscription:—

IMP: VESP: VIIII T: IMP: VII: COS CN: IVL

the fractured end, unfortunately, destroying the lower portion of the L, and the whole of the I in IVLIO; the commencement of the inscription is, however, quite intact, there being $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches beyond it; then follows

a joint 3 inches long, and beyond it a length of 7 inches of slightly thicker pipe.

On discovering the first inscription, a description of it was forwarded to Mr. F. Haverfield, of Christ Church, Oxford, who kindly furnished the following particulars:

“The inscription on your lead pipes is unusually interesting and noteworthy. You have, I think, deciphered it correctly, and I expect it is practically complete, unless something is lost at the beginning. It makes good sense as it is. It gives the date when the pipes were laid, indicated by the names of Consuls and the Governor of Britain. This date is A.D. 79. The Latin can be expanded thus:—

IMPERATORE VESPASIANO IX TITO
IMPERATORE VII CONSVLIBVS
CNAEO JVLIO AGRICOLA LEGATO
AVGVSTI PRO PRAETORE.

“That is roughly in English: ‘These pipes were laid when Vespasian and Titus were Consuls for the eighth and ninth times respectively, and when Cnaeus Julius Agricola governed the Province of Britain.’

“The date is a pleasant contribution to the history of Roman Chester; but the great interest of the inscription lies in the mention of Agricola. This is that Agricola whose biography, written by his son-in-law, the historian Tacitus, has made him the most famous among Roman Imperial administrators. He governed Britain from A.D. 78 to A.D. 85, and pursued a forward policy, which was apparently revised on his recall. One might compare him to Sir Bartle Frere, perhaps, or to some of our Indian Viceroy. Important as he was, no other inscription exists which bears his name, and the new-found pipes of Deva are thus unique, and their discovery is a fact of great interest.

“I have only to add that the occurrence of his name on the pipes does not imply any special action or presence of his at Chester. It is due to the common official method of dating.”¹

¹ See also Haverfield, *Catalogue of Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones*, pp. 86-87, fig. 199; *Antiquary*, January, 1900, p. 7.

The joints (plate 13, figs. 2*a*, 2*b*) on these pipes are of two distinct forms. That on the last length of pipe (plate 13, fig. 2*b*) recovered is of peculiar interest, in being of a totally different character to the three joints previously found (plate 13, fig. 2*a*). It is only slightly raised above the surface of the pipe, its greatest thickness not exceeding $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of an inch, and it tapers out to a thin layer at both margins; its surface is comparatively smooth and bears faint parallel striæ, as if it had been "wiped" as a modern joint is done. The other joints (plate 13, fig. 2*a*) appear to have been made by forming a mould of earth round the ends of the pipes and filling it in with molten lead, the joints being massive, very thick, and with a broad flat top. The Roman method of joining lead pipes in this locality, therefore, does not appear to have been confined to one set plan, for, in addition to those already described, we have an example from another part of the City in which the metal forming the joint is of almost even thickness throughout, taking practically the same contour as the pipe itself, with the ends or sides squarely or suddenly cut off, and having a seam at the top corresponding with that on the pipe itself.

In summarising these facts, we find that the total length of the inscribed piping now recovered is 16 feet 6 inches long, which, before the workmen broke it into sections, was lying intact in a straight line from east to west. The space between the joints is—longest 8 feet 2 inches, shortest 7 feet; each length, on opposite sides, bearing the same inscription on a slightly raised panel 3 feet 10½ inches long by 2 inches broad; the average thickness of the pipe being 7 mm. Judging from the foregoing figures and the character of the pipe, the lead appears to have been first made into flat sheets of about

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8 or 9 feet long by about 9 inches wide, and subsequently bent into the desired shape; the suture—always placed uppermost—was then hermetically sealed in a way best known to the Romans. All superfluous lead was then cut away with a sharp implement of some kind, leaving a broad irregular square edge and the marks of the implement used.

The exact site of the find is about 150 feet from the Cross (corner of Northgate and Eastgate Streets), and 75 feet due north from the Eastgate Street frontage of Messrs. Oakes & Griffiths (now Richard Jones'), bordering the western side of the Boot Inn premises. The pipe was buried 6 feet 2 inches from the surface, and rested upon the upper stratum of soft sandstone (*Trias*), locally known as "roach," which would bring it to about 18 inches above the present level of Eastgate Street.

In digging down to the pipe, fragments of Roman tiles (*tegulae*) were first found at a depth of 2 feet; they were mixed with ecclesiastical floor tiles (14th—16th century) and fragments of black Elizabethan pottery. Lower down the pottery was mostly Roman; but a fragment of an Elizabethan "teg" or loving cup occurred almost on the surface of the pipe, indicating that the soil had been much disturbed within comparatively recent times. The covering layer of about 6 inches, surrounding the pipe, was composed chiefly of charcoal and fine black earth, and in one part a quantity of lime; among this debris was a fine bronze fibula; a completely oxidised coin; fragments of mortaria, cinerary urns of Upchurch ware, and Samian bowls.

An analysis of the lead pipes shows the lead possesses eleven pennyweight of silver to the ton, which the

analyst says is precisely the same as found in certain Shropshire ores (*Roman Gravel*), at Minsterley, near Shrewsbury. Mr. Alfred Walker, however, says that the "Minsterley ores contain more than 11 pennyweight of silver per ton of lead. Probably, the lead was made from the litharge (lead oxide) produced in extracting the silver from the Flintshire ores, at the Roman smelting works at Pentre, Flint, where I have seen indisputable evidence of such extraction." It was in this locality that the locally-found Roman pigs of lead were also supposed to have been cast; and, having Mr. Walker's valuable information, there is no valid reason why the pipes in question should not have been manufactured at the same smelting hearths.

Patera or Dish. One very large example, in soft red terra-cotta, was found at the commencement of the excavations, and, unfortunately, got into private hands and had to be purchased. It is very badly fractured, but most of the fragments were recovered and can be very well restored. It measures 14 inches in diameter

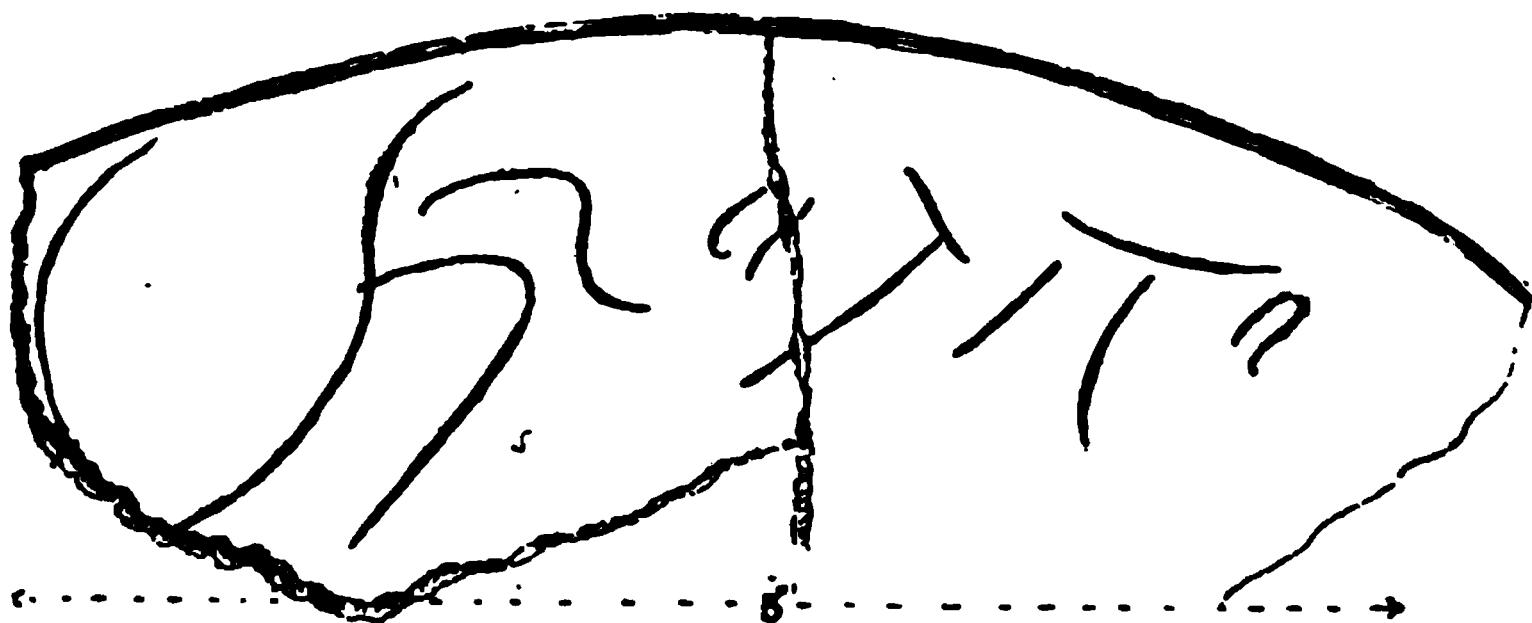


Fig. 4.—Roman Cursive Signature on underside of large flat dish or patera (reduced—original).

and 2½ inches deep. On the base of the vessel, outside, is a large cursive signature (fig. 4), which has been

scratched on the vessel before it had been baked, and is probably, therefore, the potter's name. Mr. Day, of Warrington, reads it CRA'TITV, with the R ill-made, and the V inverted, the name being *Cratitus* (?) but of this he is not quite certain. The actual length of the writing is $4\frac{6}{10}$ inches; the illustration being slightly reduced.

Potter's Implement. This is apparently made from a stag's antler, as it is exceedingly hard and bears a high polish. It is 5 inches long, pointed at one end, and slightly gouge-shaped, on both sides, at the other. It was found during the early part of the excavations, and is almost identical with two examples in the collection at the British Museum.

EXCAVATIONS FOR THE NEW CITY BATHS, 1899.

These premises, situate immediately behind the north-east side of the Roman Catholic Church, form the south-east frontage to the Grosvenor Park end of Union Street. Almost at the commencement of the excavations, the existence of a broad ditch was clearly traceable in the undisturbed glacial boulder-clay, and was subsequently found to extend almost due north, from Union Street, to a distance of 215 feet; it then suddenly terminated, but its course further north may have been obliterated during the erection of the premises intervening between it and Foregate Street, which is distant about 185 feet. The ditch was roughly U shaped, with the sides sloping upwards and outwards, the average depth being 11 feet from the present land surface; the width in the centre 7 feet, and at the base 3 feet. Whether any trace of this ditch was discovered south of Union Street, when the Grosvenor Park was laid out, it is not certain, as no

record of such appears in the Society's Journal; nor does there appear to be any record of its continuation nearer Foregate Street. Judging from the nature of the relics which were discovered in this important earthwork, there can be little doubt as to its Roman origin; and, as it occupies the south flank of the Roman Via (Watling Street), presumably it may have been used for defensive purposes. A description of the objects recovered is given below:—

Objects in Bronze. A slightly mutilated figure of a cupid, of unusually finished workmanship, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, together with a bronze *fibula*, were procured by Mr. Frank Williams; these interesting objects have recently been presented to the Society's Museum by their discoverer. Besides these, an *acus* with a hemispherical head; portions of buckles; badly oxidised and undeterminable coins; and many fragments of waste bronze, were also obtained.

Lead. A trough formed of sheet-lead about $\frac{3}{16}$ inch thick and 18 inches long, having right-angle sides 4 inches high. The metal bears the marks of the workman's tool (*malleus*), which has left sharply indented impressions 2 inches long by $\frac{3}{8}$ -inch broad, which corresponds almost exactly to the rectangular-faced hammers found at Silchester and elsewhere.

Iron. Several unrecognisable objects and imperfect nails.

Hone or Whetstone. One, rectangular in section, 3 inches long, is made from a fine dark micaceous sandstone, but is without bronze attachment or hole for suspension. It is of a type frequently met with, and the Meols Collection is rich in them.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

FIG. 1.

Roman Hatchets.

FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.
Roman Vessels in terra-cotta.

FIG. 5.

Glass. Portions of the base (5 inches in diameter) and fragments of the body of what must have been originally a magnificent glass vessel; the matrix somewhat resembles red granite in colour, but bluish white predominates, and the whole is sparsely streaked with bright yellow; along the edge of the rim is a series of eye-like markings, ovate in form, with centres of dark rich crimson, surrounded by a broad band of bright yellow. The only other fragment of glass recovered was a rather thick flat piece, which, judging from the character of the grain on one side of it, appears to have been cast upon slate. Roman glass is particularly scarce in Chester, and these fragments are of much interest.

Pottery. The most remarkable find is an object shown in the illustration (plate 14, fig. 4), which may be described as a bottle-shaped drain pipe, in red terra-cotta; It is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long; its greatest diameter 3 inches; and its average thickness $\frac{5}{16}$ ths of an inch; the neck being 2 inches long and $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches in diameter; it has evidently been made upon the potter's wheel, and has been worked into shape by the hands of the operator, the fingers forming upon it a series of broadly concave grooves. A second example was found at the same time, but this, unfortunately, got into private hands.

The two small terra-cotta vessels or finger-cups (plate 14, figs. 3, 5) were probably intended for unguents, but they are made of such rough materials, that one can hardly imagine them to have formed part of a lady's toilet. Fig. 5 is of a red colour, and measures $2\frac{5}{16}$ inches high; $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in its greatest diameter; and 2 inches across the top. The other example, shaped somewhat like an egg-cup (fig. 3) and greyish in colour,

FIG. 1.

Roman Hatchets.

FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.
Roman Vessels in terracotta.

FIG. 5.

Glass. Portions of the base (5 inches in diameter) and fragments of the body of what must have been originally a magnificent glass vessel; the matrix somewhat resembles red granite in colour, but bluish white predominates, and the whole is sparsely streaked with bright yellow; along the edge of the rim is a series of eye-like markings, ovate in form, with centres of dark rich crimson, surrounded by a broad band of bright yellow. The only other fragment of glass recovered was a rather thick flat piece, which, judging from the character of the grain on one side of it, appears to have been cast upon slate. Roman glass is particularly scarce in Chester, and these fragments are of much interest.

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The first three letters are very faintly cut, but clearly traceable; but the remaining four are much more deeply scratched.

At the suggestion of Mr. Haverfield, the fragments of pottery bearing the above inscriptions were forwarded to Mr. F. G. Kenyon, Keeper at the British Museum, who very kindly undertook to examine them, and has reported as follows:—

“I have examined the pieces of pottery which you sent me, and am glad that you sent the originals instead of copies or rubbings. The letters on the black vase (fig. 6a) appear to be]VLL LVCR[. The last letter is very doubtful, and if we had the rest of the vase it might be possible to read it differently. I suppose it is a proper name, e.g., [Fab]ull(ius) Luc—.

“The red fragment (fig. 6b) is a greater puzzle, cursive writing being unusual on vases, and the strokes often lending themselves to different combinations. I have tried various of these, but believe the real solution to be that the inscription was written on the mould, and, consequently, must be read reversed or looking-glass fashion. This gives the reading *Marsius*. (It would be possible to read a T for the R, but the resultant name is less probable). This is the best solution I can offer. (*In Lit.* Nov. 27, 1901).”

Statuette of Venus. An imperfect example in white clay (*figlina creta*), with the head and other portions wanting; but sufficient remains to show clearly the nature of this interesting little statuette; in its present condition it measures 5½ inches from the shoulder to the base of the circular base. Originally, its greatest height would probably not exceed 6½ inches. The figure has a suture extending all round it at the sides, clearly indicating that it has been made in a piece-mould of two parts, and the slightly hollow interior bears the impression of the potter's fingers, showing how the clay was pressed into position. Similar statuettes have been

found at other Roman Stations—notably York and Silchester; and they are also said to have been found in great numbers in France;¹ but this appears to be the first example of its kind found in Chester.

Antifix or Gable Ornament (plate 14, fig. 2). There is, unfortunately, some doubt as to the exact locality in which this object was found. The donor, Philip B. Davies-Cooke, Gwysaney, Mold, gives Northgate Street, and probably refers to the site of Mr. Vernon's shop, erected by the late Alderman Charles Brown, on which so many objects of Roman antiquity were found. In a former description² of this object the writer gave the above locality for this find, but subsequent enquiries leads the writer to believe that it was found on the site of the City Baths. As the illustration shows, it is a very fine and unusually well-finished piece of modelling, and of a rare type, the chief object in the design being a large central mask, in high relief, probably representing the head of Jupiter. One other example (perfect) is in the Society's Collection; and Mr. Edward Hodgkinson possesses a large fragment of the same type. These, we believe, are the only examples of this form of antifix yet discovered in Chester. The only other type, and the one most frequently found in Chester, is the one bearing the badge of the Twentieth Legion (plate 14, fig. 1). In this, a figure of the wild boar is shown in relief, and above it the letters LEG. XX., the whole being trans-fixed by the pole of the *labarum*, with a variously shaped terminal ornament—a ring or a mask.

Shoe or Sandal (plate 13, fig. 1a). As a Chester example this is quite unique, and, being almost perfect, is of

¹ C. R. Smith's *London*, 109, 110; *Ibid. Collectanea*, VI., 58; S. Reinach, *Guide Illus. d. Mu. Nat. S. Germain*, p. 78, fig. 53.

² *Newstead Reliquary*, Vol. VII., p. 50, fig. 5.

great interest and value. It measures 8 inches long, and is $2\frac{6}{10}$ inches wide at the broadest part of the sole. The inner sole is sewn to the outer by rather broad strips of leather, the stitches forming two widely-separated sub-marginal rows. Between the soles are portions of the thongs for attachment, which passed over the foot; and the sole is studded with bronze hob-nails or studs, the design and arrangement of which are almost identical with certain impressions found here on Roman roofing tiles. From its small size it evidently belonged to a youth of, probably, some twelve or fourteen years. This example answers very well the description of the strong heavy shoe or sandal which was worn by the Roman soldiers, and known as the *caliga*. It is said¹ not to have been worn by the superior officers; and that the common soldiers, including Centurions, were distinguished by the name of *caligati*. And further, that "the Emperor Caligula received that cognomen, when a boy, in consequence of wearing the *caliga*, which his father, Germanicus, put on his son in order to please the soldiers."

HUMAN REMAINS NEAR THE CANAL SIDE, 1900.

In cutting a trench along the side of the Canal, by the bridge which crosses the road a few paces west of "Pemberton's Parlour"—in order to widen the permanent way of the Holyhead Line—five human skeletons were found lying at an average depth of 4 feet 9 inches from the surface. The trench in question extended 20 feet west of the original buttress supporting the railway bridge, the depth and width being 7 feet 6 inches. Four of the skeletons had been removed before the writer was able

¹ Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 233.

to inspect them. The only skeleton remaining *in situ* was lying with the feet pointing east; but all the bones were so badly decayed that it was impossible to recover them. Not a trace of pottery of any kind was discoverable, nor could anything else be found that could in any way lead to the identity of the period to which they belonged.

STOCK'S LANE, BOUGHTON, NOVEMBER, 1900.

Early in the month of November a perfect cinerary urn in Upchurch ware, and fragments of four other urns in red terra-cotta were discovered by some workmen in making a drain for two new cottages, about midway on the east side of Stock's Lane, Boughton; the exact spot being in a direct line with the north wall of the cottages, and equidistant between the front wall of the house and the garden wall, which forms a boundary to the lane—being exactly 12 feet from either walls. The urns were found at a depth of about 7 feet from the surface; but at least 18 inches of the soil had been brought there from the Queen's Head excavations during the previous summer. A good deal of black earth was found surrounding the pots, and it was this which first attracted the workmen and induced them to dig deeper than was absolutely necessary. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; greatest diameter $24\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of rim $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of base $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. When found it was filled with earth and bones, but nearly all of the latter were destroyed. The site of this find is only a few yards nearer the river than the urn which was found and described in 1897.¹

¹ Newstead, *Journ. Chester Arch. and Hist. Soc.*, Vol. VI., p. 156, plate 2, fig. 1.

EXCAVATIONS, GROSVENOR ROAD, ON THE SITE OF THE
NEW SADDLE INN, NEAR THE MUSEUM, 1900.

Here, as on the site of the Museum, the ground had been intersected by tan pits and very few Roman objects were found.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

Iron Spear Head (fig. 8).

This was rather badly oxidised, but its proportions are fairly well preserved. It is a socketed example, and appears to be of Roman workmanship. Length 6 inches; greatest width of blade 1 inch.

Iron Key (fig. 7). Although the bow of the key resembles a certain class of Roman keys, the wards, so far as one can trace them out, are more like those of 14th century work. Length 5½ inches.

Bronze Bell. This example is of the same size and design as that found in Eastgate Street and previously described. There is also a third example in the collections from Great Meols, presented by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe.

UPPER NORTHGATE STREET (WEST), NEAR THE NORTH-
GATE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 1901.

A few old cottages, standing north of the above Church, have recently been pulled down by the owner (Mr. W. Vernon), and in removing one of the tiled floors

Mr. Vernon's workmen unearthed a small imperfect pot, containing 25 silver groats of Edward III., all of them struck in London, and bearing the motto "I have made God my help"; date about 1300. They were buried only about 12 inches from the surface, at a spot 9 feet from the doorway, and 54 feet north from the base of the Church, and 9 feet from the present line of frontage.

The coins were all of the same mintage, but rather badly oxidised. The inscription reads:—

Obv. EDWARD D.G. REX. ANGL., FRANCE
D. HYB.

(Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ Dominus
Hiberniæ)

Rev. POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM.
CIVITAS LONDON.

The base of the old pot in which the coins were found is composed of a fine hard buff-coloured paste, the outside being pale terra-cotta, having portions covered with a bright orange-brown glaze. The base, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, is slightly dilated, and bears on its surface impressions of straw or grass. Although but a fractured vessel, it will serve as an excellent type for fixing the pottery of this period—a task always difficult.

EXCAVATIONS FOR THE NEW OFFICES OF THE "CHESTER CHRONICLE," OCTOBER, 1901.

These excavations consisted of the formation of an underground passage extending under Mr. Watmough Webster's shop to the premises of the *Chronicle* Office beyond, the base line of which being practically the level of Bridge Street. At the commencement of the excavations, portions of a Crypt, with a small 14th century doorway, were exposed; and the latter, much to the regret of the Editor, had to be removed. Several

encaustic ecclesiastical floor-tiles were also found ; but of Roman work very little. Portions of roofing-tiles, a few fragments of *amphoræ*, and cinerary urns, were apparently all that were recovered.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE PREMISES OF MESSRS. DAVIES &
SHEPHEARD, NOVEMBER, 1901.

The actual site of this excavation was 196 feet from the Bridge Street frontage ; the area excavated being 12 feet 6 inches square, and 8 feet 6 inches deep. At the base of the excavations the remains of two Roman floors were found. The one extending along the northern portion was exposed to a width of 4 feet, and was found to extend further north. This was composed of broken *tegulae*, and had a base-work chiefly of broken sandstone rock ; the surface being finished with mortar, but no tesserae. The other floor was only exposed about a foot in width, and this was continuous along the southern wall of the excavation, and evidently extended beyond. It was in a very imperfect condition, but sufficient remained to show that it was a tessellated floor, composed of large black and white tesserae like many other examples found in Chester ; the white tesserae being of chalk and the black of lias rock. During the excavation of the old Feathers Inn, which lies south of this excavation, large tessellated floors were found, and it is highly probable that this fragment is more or less continuous with that series. Quite a number of fragments of Roman pottery, consisting of urns in Upchurch ware and terra-cotta vessels, were recovered ; but the only fragment worthy of note consisted of a portion of the rim of a mortarium, also in Upchurch, which, if not unique, is of very rare occurrence, such vessels being usually made of quite different materials.

By no means the least interesting find was a small jug (fig. 9) of terra-cotta ware, belonging to the Edwardian period. It measures $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches high and is $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches greatest diameter at the top. It is difficult at all times to fix even the approximate period of the early English ware, but this compares very favourably in design with vessels claimed to be of this period; and although

Fig 9.—Edwardian Jug
(Original).

it has a much softer "paste" than the fragment found in Upper Northgate Street containing the hoard of Edwardian coins, there can be little doubt that it belongs to this period, although it may be somewhat late.

FRODSHAM STREET OR COW LANE, SEPTEMBER, 1901.

In making the cellar for the new premises on the west side of the street, opposite the new Inn, the workmen found a perfect Roman terra-cotta lamp, which measures $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in its greatest length; the diameter of the reservoir being $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

UPTON, NEAR CHESTER, OCTOBER, 1901.

A silver Denarius of Caius Pollicius Malleolus, date about 89 B.C., was found by a workman while digging in a field. It is in a very fair state of preservation, but has been very roughly scratched in cleaning.

Obv. Head of Mars, with mallet above;

Rev. C.MAL—(leolus). A hero (name of whom is uncertain) standing before a trophy. The AL in MAL is ligulate.

ON THE DISCOVERY OF A NEOLITHIC AXE-
HAMMER AT PECKFORTON, CHESHIRE.


A very finely finished weapon resembling the specimen in the possession of Lord Tollemache found near Beeston Castle, but it is a much smaller example. It weighs $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz ; greatest length $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches; diameter of hole, which is slightly anterior to the centre, 1 inch. It is composed apparently of Cumberland granite, and has undoubtedly been long exposed, as the surface is very deeply pitted and weathered, presenting a very rough texture. It was found on August 15th, 1901, by Mr. George Dutton, Peckforton Farm, near Tarporley. The axe was taken in a load of clover, and while being unloaded at the stack, the axe fell to the ground and was then discovered by Mr. Dutton, who very generously presented it to the Society. The field in which the clover grew had long been under cultivation, and no doubt the axe had been exposed to the weather for a very long time, which accounts for its condition.

It is highly satisfactory to know that nearly all the objects enumerated in this Paper have been placed in the Society's collection, thereby enriching it very materially. In nearly all cases the objects have been presented by the owners of the various properties; but several important finds, unfortunately smuggled away by the workmen, had to be traced and purchased, although the men had been freely remunerated.

The writer's best thanks are due to Alderman George Dutton and Mr. H. B. Dutton, Messrs. Richard Jones & Co., Messrs. Douglas & Minshull, Councillor W. Vernon, Mr. Coplestone (the Editor of the *Chronicle*), Mr. W. F. J. Shephard, and Mr. George Dutton (Peckforton), for assistance extended to him in investigating the various sites, and for the courtesy at all times shewn to him.

**An extended List of Potters' Stamps on the
Red-glazed Roman Ware (popularly known as
Samian) found at Chester; with the chief forms
of Stamping briefly classified**

BY FRANK H. WILLIAMS

N my little *Synopsis* of our Devan Inscriptions, published in 1886, I gave a list of 78 stamps as occurring on this well-known pottery, *i.e.*, 76 makers' names (in a few instances varieties of same names), and 2 stamps of the nature of trade-marks, impressed in lieu of them. Since then excavations have yielded fragments supplying a number of additional names; and these, with the previously recorded ones, are given in the accompanying list, which I have endeavoured to make as complete as possible.

Confining myself to the potters' *stamps* alone, I leave, for the present, undescribed certain cursive letterings in relief on some few fragments of ornamented bowls—apparently due to the maker having written, not stamped, his name within the moulds in which vessels of this description were formed. At Chester, as at other Roman Stations, examples of *graffiti* occasionally appear; but seeing that these writings or scratches are incised through the glaze, and so, after firing, I have ever regarded them as marks of ownership made by the possessors of the vessels—not marks referable to the potters.

The following table, showing how two principal forms of stamps present themselves upon the vessels, will, I hope, prove helpful to those just commencing to study the peculiarities of this elegant ware; premising that though based upon specimens occurring at Chester, it applies to this pottery as found on Roman sites generally.

PLAIN WARE.

(a) By far the greater part of stamps are met with on unornamented vessels (*i.e.*, on the plain bowls and *paterae*), in the centre of the base on its inner surface; the field or ground of the stamp being depressed, the letters small and in relief.

(b) Precisely as (a); excepting that the name is retrograde, and the individual letters reversed.

DECORATED WARE.

(c) When potters' stamps occur on the ornamented Samian, they are, with rare exceptions, found on the *exterior* of some of the bowls (for, it should be noted, the figured bowls do not invariably bear the makers' names), usually in large raised letters, placed vertically amidst the ornaments, and like them, formed by a tool with letters in relief; just as the figures and other decorations impressed by similar tools or punches were employed at intervals by the maker in adorning his matrices.

(d) The same as (c); save that the name is retrograde, and the individual letters reversed.

(e) Stamp placed vertically at intervals, associated with some repeated ornament; the field *in relief*, the letters small, incuse, reversed, and the wording retro-

grade. Evidently caused by the potter, when stamping the sides of the mould, wrongly employing one of the seals used on plain ware (*a*) instead of the customary tool.

(*f*) Stamp on base, exactly as at (*a*).

In the accompanying list, the few examples not transcribed by myself are indicated by the names of the writers mentioning them; the rest I have carefully examined, and the reader is to infer are stamps of the (*a*) class, excepting where there is a letter in parenthesis indicating another form. In no case have I put a point between the letters, or at the end of a stamp, where it does not exist in the stamp itself. Comparing my first list with that ~~of the late~~ Mr. Watkin, in his *Roman Cheshire*, several stamps will be found differing from mine simply in his showing a punctuation not occurring in the originals; for that he, or some friend for him, copied, as I did, certain examples in our Museum, I have good reason to believe, and thus we derived such names from identical specimens.


Some of the names now first recorded as new to Chester, appear on fragments of this ware secured for the Museum by our Curator, Mr. Newstead; and these, marked by an asterisk (*), his kindness has enabled me to examine and add to my list.

OF · ABALI
AESTIV : M
AGYRO
ALBIM
ALBINI · M (Dr. Kendrick,
Journal, C.A.S., III., 199)
ALBINVS (Lysons : *Cheshire*, 431)
ALBVS
ANAIL
(*e*) ANVNIM

OFAPRO



(*b*) AETERNIM
ATILLVS (Lysons)
ATTILLV3F
*ATTIVS
ATTIV3 · FE
*AVIII · M / — (? AVITI · MA)
BELINICCI · M

BELINOIM (Lysons)	FVSCI
BITVRIX · F ·	ÆRMANIOF (MA ligulate)
BVRDOM	I+OFFIC (Lysons)
(c) BVTRIO	OFIABI?
f OFCI —	IBERTVS
OF CALVI	OFIORII (Watkin)
CARRIIIV —?	OFGAI · IVL
CENTILISII	*IVSTIN —
CERIALI · MA (MA in monogram)	(c) L · C —
CINNAM (Dr. Kendrick)	OFLOGIR
d IMI — (probably ending of retro-	MACRINVS
grade CINNAMI)	MAECI (MA ligulate)
CINT · VC — (N reversed, pro-	MARC · IILLIV (MA ligulate)
bably CINT · VGENT)	MARTIM
CINTVSM	MARTINI
COCVRO · F	MATE —
CONCI · M	OF MVRRA
COSRVF	
OF · CRE	NEMO
CRECIM	NICE —
CREMORM	PASSENI · MA (MA in monogram)
C · RESIM	OFPA22ENI
OF CVMNI · M	*P · ATE · RN ·
DACCIVS FII	PATERNIM
DAGODVGNVS	PATRICI
DAGOMA	PAVLLIM (VL ligulate)
DAGOMARVSF	PECV — (PE ligulate)
DECVMNI · M	PRISCINIM
DENATI —	OFPVDE
DIIXTIIRII	PVONIM (Lysons)
DIVICATVS	*Q · V · C
DOMITIANSFE	*REBV —
DOMITIANVSF	REGINVS
(e) DOVIICCVS	RIGA · FEC
DRAVCIM	OF · RVFIN
ESCVS · (Watkin)	*OFRVI
f CV I · M	SACROT · MAS (MA ligulate)
FAOVIIM	SAVCIRO (AV ligulate)
OFFAWV	SE · CVN · DI
FIRMA — (MA ligulate)	OF · SEVERI (VE ligulate)
FIRMI	OFSEVERI (F within the O)
FRONTI	†SIGOCATV · F
*FVIRII ·	

C · SILVIO
 SINTVRV · E (last character apparently FE in monogram)
 SVLPICI ·
 SVP—
 OSV—
 SVRDV—
 TRITAM · I
 VXOPILLM/
 VARIVSF (Lysons)
 OFVIRIL ·
 OFLOVIRILI (this stamp has ornamented ends)
 VITA
 VITAEMSF

* (e) — VINILLANIM (first letter or letters omitted, being blurred)

Terminations :—

—RONISO (OF ligulate)

—VCCIUS · F

—AIVI

* —ENTINI · M

* —VRIAN

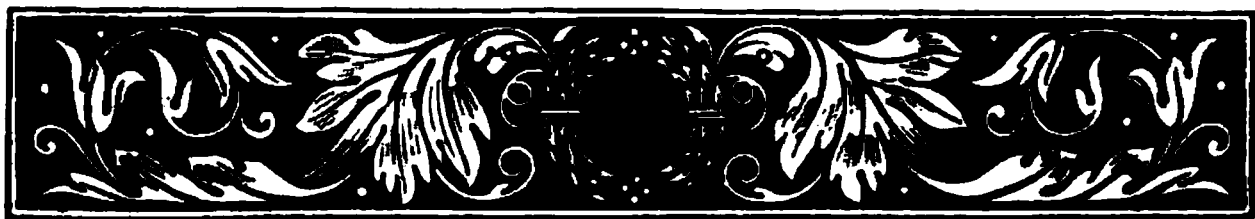
* —XIVLLIM

Stamps used instead of Names :—

W.V.V.I
 /V.V\

† The first local example I have seen of one of the rare circular stamps. The F is central; the other letters around it. On the upper base of a vessel; but the fragment so small as to render it uncertain to what type of vessel it belonged.

Tail-piece.—Portion of a figured bowl, illustrating the (c) method of stamping; a perfect example of this stamp (BVTRIO) occurs on another fragment found since the wood-cut was made.



Miscellanea

EARLY LEAD MINERS BROUGHT FROM THE HIGH PEAK TO WORK IN FLINTSHIRE

ON a recent visit to London, I turned into the Public Record Office, to make a search in connection with Flintshire history, when I came across the following entry on the Patent Roll of 4 Richard II. :

“ 1380, July 10th (Westminster), writ of aid by bill of Privy Seal, for one year for *Ralph le Leche* and *Ralph de Baystowe*, appointed to take two miners and three other suitable workmen in the Peak of the County of Derby, bring them to Flint, and put them on the lead works there ; with full power to imprison the disobedient.”

This curious entry interested me much. From the days of the Romans lead from the Halkyn Mountains has been brought down to the river side to be smelted, and afterwards conveyed away by water. The early smelting hearths were at Pentre and Flint. Were these miners to be employed in smelting the lead at Flint, or in mining the ore at Halkyn ?

But what was the connection between Derbyshire and Flintshire ? True, both are lead producing districts, but there was another reason. In the year 1131 the Cistercian Abbey of Basingwerk was founded, the ruins of which stand hard by Holywell Railway Station, and I trust will be carefully preserved. In 1157 King Henry II. being engaged on a military expedition in these parts, stayed at the Abbey, and in return for the attention bestowed by the Monks upon him, he granted to them the domain and Church of Glossop, in the Peak, which formed part of the possessions granted by William the Conqueror to his natural son William Peveril (Peveril of the Peak), whose descendant Henry II. had recently disinherited for having procured the death of the Earl of Chester—as some legends say by poison, and others by “sorcerie and witchcrafte.” The charter conveying the

transfer was witnessed, amongst others, by the great martyr Thomas a' Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, but this fact did not prevent Bluff King Hal from seizing it with other Abbey lands in 1536, and conferring it upon the Earl of Shrewsbury, from whom it passed by way of exchange to the family of its present possessors (the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk). The Abbey itself was conveyed to Harry ap Harry, whose only daughter Anne by her marriage passed it to the Talacre family, the present owners. Not only did Henry II. stay with the Monks, but during the building of Flint Castle and at other times King Edward I. also made Basingwerk his headquarters. This latter monarch and his immediate successors encouraged English emigration into Wales, especially to places near to the coast, and thus we find that the knightly Derbyshire family of Leche found their way into Flintshire as well as to Cheshire. This ancient family not only had rights in the Peak, but were the former owners of Chatsworth, the princely seat of the Dukes of Devonshire; and to this day on the eastern side of the Porch of Edensor Church, at Chatsworth, on a corbel stone can be seen an angel delicately carved holding a shield bearing the arms of Leche, which in heraldic language are Ermine on a chief dancetteé gules, three ducal coronets, or. That is to say, on a field of Ermine is placed at the top a red indented plate, on which are three golden ducal crowns. Dr. Cox in his learned work "The History of the Churches of Derbyshire," says: "In the reign of Edward III. John Leche was surgeon (or leech as surgeons were called), to the King." On the Cheshire Rolls I find the following: "1381-2, January 17, grant to John Leche, the King's Surgeon by the King [Richard II.] of an annuity of £10 to be received out of the issues of the Mills of the Dee, in lieu of a like annuity granted to him by Edward, Prince of Wales, to be received at the Exchequer at Chester. 1384, August 13. Pardon to John Leche, by the King, in consideration of his good services 'per continuam moram suam in hospicio nostro.'" From these same Cheshire Rolls also we find that on the 17th October, 1407, Sir Roger le Leche, Knt. steward of Henry, Prince of Wales, was appointed Constable of Flint Castle, on the death of Sir Nicholas Hawberk, Knt. Sir Roger was one of the Royal Commissioners appointed Receivers of Combermere Abbey, and is described as Constable of Flint Castle, in the warrant.

The Topographer of 1790 gives the Leche pedigree thus :—
Leche of Chatsworth was the father of Sir William Leche who had issue, Duncan Leche, father of Philip, father of Duncan, who had issue : (I.) Sir Roger Leche, who is described as of Beaureper, Knt., and was Lord High Treasurer of England, 8 Henry v., 1416 ; (II.) Sir Philip Leche Treasurer of the Wars of France, who in 6 Hen. V. kept the hill next the Abbey at the siege of Rouen, and was captain of Menceaux and Newcastle and 8 Hen. V. was sent, together with the Earls Marshall, &c., into the country of Mayne, &c.

The Chatsworth family became extinct in the reign of Edward VI., but about the time of the reign of Henry IV. John Leche, who was probably a son of John Leche the King's Surgeon, mentioned in the Cheshire Rolls, married Eleanor, one of the co-heiresses of the old house of Cawarden, or Carden, in Cheshire, and that branch of the family has been settled there ever since. Mr. John Hurleston Leche, the worthy squire of Carden, who is the present head of the family, tells me, with reference to the arms of Leche, that the tradition of their origin is that his ancestor attended the Black Prince when he waited upon his three Royal Prisoners, and, in order to commemorate the occasion, the three crowns were ordered to be placed upon the Leche escutcheon. That there was a close connection between the Leches and the Black Prince I think the entries on the Cheshire Rolls, before referred to, clearly prove, and the tradition is probably true.

I cannot ascertain exactly who Ralph Leche, named in the writ, was, but probably he was either a brother or son of the King's Surgeon, named by Mr. Cox. I have no information about Ralph Baystowe.

I thought this entry on the Edwardian Patent Roll might possibly interest some of the many who are engaged in the lead industry in the county, as showing that in bygone times there was probably some connection between Flintshire and the High Peak, which latter, although a long distance away, yet at times can clearly be seen from Halkyn Mountain, and hence this letter.

HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY.

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

From this *Al. hoola* *Chironomus* (from *Chironomus* and *Chironomus*)

Chironomus and *Chironomus*

ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS 1899-1900.

ANNUAL EXCURSION.

On July 27th, 1899, in perfect weather, the Annual Summer Excursion took place to Shrewsbury and Wroxeter.

Leaving Chester at 10-7 a.m., Shrewsbury was reached at 11-45, where the party was met by Mr. W. Phillips, F.L.S., J.P., and the Museum, which occupies a portion of the old buildings of Shrewsbury School, was at once visited. Here the fine collection of Roman antiquities from Wroxeter was closely inspected and the architecture of the building admired—a hope being expressed that its most interesting details would not be allowed to be too much obscured by some apparently quite recently planted creepers ; and it is also to be regretted that in reglazing the windows the original method had not been followed. St. Mary's Church came next, and after a stroll through the old Market Square, &c., an adjournment was made for luncheon at the Raven Hotel.

About 2 o'clock the party commenced their drive to Wroxeter, making their first halt at the Abbey Church. Here the extremely reverent and conservative way in which the restoration had been conducted was greatly approved of, and the celebrated Refectory pulpit in the midst of its present incongruous surroundings was the object of much curiosity.

Atcham (or Attingham), with its fine bridge over the Severn and its interesting Church, was next reached, and here Dr. Bridge gave a short recital on the newly-restored organ ; it is notable as having been struck by lightning some years ago, when the organist was killed. The Rector,

the Rev. Algernon G. Burton, gave an interesting description of the Church and its restoration.

Arrived at Wroxeter (Uriconium), the ultimate destination of the Excursion—the great Roman City where all the Roman roads converged—a considerable stay was made, and a short Paper was read by Mr. Phillips, to whom the Society were greatly indebted for his help and guidance throughout the day. Some time was also spent in Wroxeter Church, the Chancel of which contains some very fine monuments in a wonderful state of preservation, and a font made from the base of a column from the neighbouring Basilica of Uriconium.

In response to an invitation from the Rev. Algernon and Mrs. Burton, the party, on the return drive to Shrewsbury, called at Longner Hall, where they were most kindly entertained to tea, and the opportunity was taken of inspecting the many valuable pictures and other objects of interest in the house; also the tomb of Edward Burton, a zealous Protestant, who died of joy on hearing the Shrewsbury bells ring for the Accession of Queen Elizabeth. He was buried on his own lawn, the Rector of St. Chad's refusing to allow the body to be buried in his Church. Time did not allow of a visit to Haughmond Abbey; and a pleasant drive in the cool of the evening brought the party to Shrewsbury, whence train was taken to Chester, bringing to an end one of the most successful expeditions ever undertaken by the Society.

At a Council Meeting, July 31st, 1899; Venerable Arch-deacon Barber in the Chair, a Report of the Summer Excursion to Shrewsbury, Wroxeter, &c., was presented. It was proposed by the Mayor, Seconded by Alderman C. Brown, and

Resolved:—"That Mr. Conway be requested to send £10 to Mr. Hargreaves, of Rock Ferry, asking him to advance the money to Mrs. Thompson Watkin as occasion arises, and at his own discretion."

Mr. Hugh Blakiston, of the National Trust (for Places of Historic Interest, &c.), attended, and the question of Derby House was considered ; and it was unanimously

Resolved :—“ That the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society, taking the greatest interest in the preservation of Derby House, venture to draw the attention of the National Trust for the preservation of Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty to its present condition, in the hope that they will be able to induce the owner, The Earl of Derby, so to deal with it that it may be preserved, and also made more open to view by the clearing away of buildings which abut on it and hide it.”

Council Meeting, September 22nd, 1899 ; Alderman C. Brown in the Chair. A letter was read from Mr. Hugh Blakiston with reference to Derby House, and its consideration deferred to the next meeting. Arrangements were made for the coming Session.

Council Meeting, October 17th, 1899 ; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. It was unanimously

Resolved :—“ That the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society beg to bring before the Museum Management Committee the absolute necessity of fitting up Room No. 2 as a Library, as has often been contemplated, and to express their earnest hope that steps will be taken, with as little delay as possible, to carry out the idea in consultation with the various Societies interested.”

The Hon. Curator reported the gift to the Society, by Messrs. Richard Jones and Mr. Mayers, of Roman Lead Water Pipes, bearing the name of *Cnæus Julius Agricola*, and the date A.D. 79.

The Opening Meeting of the Session 1899-1900 was held on Tuesday, October 17th, at 8 p.m., in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when Mr. R. Newstead

described "The recent discovery of an important Roman Building in Bridge Street, Chester"; and Mr. Frank Williams exhibited and described "A portion of a Stone Cross, of very early date, found in the City."

At a Special Council Meeting, November 16th, 1899; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the question of Derby House was again deferred. A Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the finances of the Society, and the ways and means of influencing new Members, and of bringing the Society more prominently before the citizens. The Secretary was requested to write to the Chairman of the Improvement Committee of the Town Council with reference to the damage done, by children and others, to Lord Combermere's Statue in Grosvenor Road.

At a Council Meeting, November 21st, 1899; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported gifts of fragments of Samian Ware to the Society by Mr. R. B. Davies-Cooke.

The Second Meeting was held on Tuesday, Nov. 21st, at 8 p.m., in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when the Rev. Harold D. Ford, M.A., read a Paper entitled "Hadrian's Great Barrier," which was illustrated by Lantern Slides.

Council Meeting, December 19th, 1899; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Secretary was authorized to forward a further sum of £10 to Mr. Hargreaves, to be paid at his discretion to Mrs. Thompson Watkin. A framed copy of a map of the ancient boundary of Hawarden, and the course of the River Dee from Connah's Quay to Chester, was presented by Mr. E. Blane, who was thanked for the same. A communication from the Secretary of the Local Record Committee, London, was read, and it was Proposed by the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. Hodgkinson, and

Resolved :—"That the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society are of opinion

that it is most desirable that local records and objects of interest should be carefully preserved in or about the places to which they refer, and should not be removed to a distance."

The Third Meeting was held on Tuesday, December 19th, at eight p.m., in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A., gave an interesting description of "The Roman Walls of Chester."

Council Meeting, January 23rd, 1900; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. The Hon. Curator reported that an old Fowling-piece, found in Irby Marsh, had been presented to the Society by Mr. F. W. Longbottom. The Chairman reported the death of His Grace The Duke of Westminster, K.G., Patron of the Society; and it was unanimously

Resolved :—"That the Chairman be requested to write a letter to The Duchess of Westminster, expressing, on behalf of the Society, sympathy with her in her bereavement."

The Fourth Meeting of the Session was held on Tuesday evening, January 23rd, 1900, at eight p.m. in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when the Rev. Canon S. Cooper Scott, M.A., read a Paper on "The Cotes Monument in St. John's Church, Chester."

Council Meeting, February 20th, 1900; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair. The Hon. Curator reported that three Roman Bricks had been presented to the Society by Alderman C. Brown. A letter was read from The Duchess of Westminster, returning her thanks to the Council for their sympathy.

The Fifth Meeting was held on Tuesday, February 20th, at eight p.m.; in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when Mr. H. D. Harrod, F.S.A., read a Paper entitled, "A defence of the Liberties of Chester, 1450."

The Sixth Meeting was held on Tuesday, May 1st, at eight p.m., in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when Mr. R. Newstead, F.E.S., read a Paper on

"Antiquities on the North-western end of the Wirral Peninsula," being a descriptive account of the Potter Collection of Antiquities recently presented to the Society by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, M.A.

Council Meeting, May 1st, 1900; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. The death of Mr. Alderman Charles Brown was reported; and on the motion of the Chairman it was unanimously

Resolved:—"That the Council of the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society desire to express their sense of the great loss which the Society, and the City of Chester, has sustained by the death of Mr. Alderman Charles Brown, for so many years an active member of the Council, who always showed the keenest and most practical interest in the antiquities and beauties of the City, and did so much to preserve them. They beg to offer their sincere sympathy to his relatives; more especially to his Sister Miss Nessie Brown, and to his Niece, Miss Lucy Brown."

The Dean of Chester, The Archdeacon, and Messrs. T. S. Gleadowe, Henry Taylor, F.S.A., E. Hodgkinson, and A. Lamont, were elected representatives of the Society on the Museum Management Committee.

The Sub-Committee appointed to consider the question of finance was requested to draw up the Annual Report.

The Sub-Committee met on May 7th, 1900, and drew up a Circular Letter, which was subsequently signed by the Lord Bishop of Chester, as President, and which pointed out the advantages conferred by the Society, the richness of its collection of antiquities, and the value of its publications, and made an earnest appeal for more members. The letter was sent out with the notices of—

The General Annual Meeting, which was held at the Grosvenor Museum, on June 5th, 1900. Present: The Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, Messrs. H. Taylor, F.S.A., A. Lamont, T. S. Gleadowe, W. W. Tasker, E. Hodgkinson, and Walter Conway.

The Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting of the Society, held May 31st, 1899, were read, confirmed, and signed by the Chairman.

The Annual Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator's and Librarian's Reports, and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts were taken as read ; and on the Motion of the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. H. Taylor, were adopted.

Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. A. Lamont, Revs. Canon S. Cooper Scott and H. Grantham, were re-elected Members of the Council.

Mr. F. Skipwith was unanimously elected Hon. Treasurer in place of Mr. J. Dodds resigned ; and Mr. W. W. Tasker was re-elected Hon. Auditor for the ensuing year.

It was Proposed by the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. E. Hodgkinson, and

Resolved :—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the donors of books and objects of antiquarian interest during the past year ; and that a special vote of thanks be presented to Mr. T. S. Gleadowe for his further gift of £20 towards the deficiency in the Society's Accounts."

After a vote of thanks to the various Officers of the Society for their services during the past year, it was Proposed by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Seconded by Mr. Henry Taylor, and

Resolved :—"That a very warm vote of thanks be accorded to the Venerable Archdeacon Barber for presiding, and particularly for the great interest and help given by him at all times to the affairs of the Society."

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council beg to submit their Annual Report to the Members of the Society for the past year, and in doing so it is with sincere regret that they have to record the loss the Society has sustained in the death of their much-esteemed Patron, The Duke of Westminster, K.G., who for so many years took an active interest in the welfare of the antiquities of our ancient City.

They also have to record the death of Mr. Alderman Charles Brown, a valued member of the Council of the Society, and one who also took a most practical interest in the antiquities and beauties of the City, and did so much to preserve them.

During the Session six Meetings have been held, at which the following Papers were read:—

October 17th, 1899.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"The Recent Discoveries of a Roman Building in Bridge Street, Chester," by Mr. R. Newstead, F.E.S.; "A portion of a Stone Cross of early date found in the City," by Mr. Frank Williams; both of which were illustrated by Lantern Slides.

November 21st, 1899.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"Hadrian's Great Barrier," by Rev. Harold D. Ford, M.A.; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

December 19th, 1899.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"The Roman Walls of Chester," by Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A.; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

January 23rd, 1900.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"The Cotes Monument in St. John's Church, Chester," by Rev. Canon Cooper Scott, M.A.

February 20th, 1900.—Chairman: Dr. Henry Stolterfoth, M.A., J.P. Subject—"A Defence of the Liberties of Chester, 1450," by Mr. H. D. Harrod, F.S.A.

May 1st, 1900. — Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber. Subject — "Antiquities found on the North-western end of the Wirral Peninsula" (illustrated by Lantern Slides), by Mr. R. Newstead, F.E.S., being a descriptive account of the Potter Collection of Antiquities recently presented to the Society by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, M.A.

In July last the Summer Excursion took place to Shrewsbury and the Roman Remains of Uriconium, and many members availed themselves of the opportunity of visiting these places of interest.

The Council desire to record the thanks of the Society to the donors of the various objects presented during the past year, particulars of which appear in the Hon. Curator's Report; and also to Mr. Siddall for kindly illustrating the Papers read.

The following gentlemen have been elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, viz. :—The Dean of Chester, The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. E. Hodgkinson, and Mr. A. Lamont.

Under Rule V. the following Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. A. Lamont, Rev. H. Grantham, and Rev. Canon Cooper Scott.

The Council decided to issue a Catalogue of the various stones and articles of interest in the charge and custody of the Society. This important work has been prepared by Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A., to whom the Council are greatly indebted, and to whom the warm thanks of the Society are due.

The expense of publishing this Illustrated Catalogue is considerable. The Council, therefore, have decided that

it shall take the place of the usual issue of the Journal ; and that additional copies (which will be found to have a permanent value and interest) may be obtained at the Museum, at the price of 2/6.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts is submitted.

The Council regret that it shows that the deficiency of £23 has increased in the year to £46, and they earnestly appeal to the existing members to do all in their power to induce others to join the Society.

THE. HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

I HAVE the pleasure to record the following additions to the Society's Museum made during the last twelve months :—

ROMAN.	Presented by
<i>Inscribed Lead Water Pipes, East-gate Street</i> - - - - -	} Mr. Mayers.
<i>Terra Cotta Antefix</i> - - -	
<i>Fragments of Samian Pottery</i> - - -	Mr. P. B. Davies-Cooke.
<i>Bases of Samian Ware Bowls, bearing Potter's marks and names</i>	} Mr. Chesters.
<i>Leather Sole of Sandal, with Rivets, &c., in very perfect condition</i> - - - - -	
<i>Fragments of Glass</i> - - -	„ „
<i>Two Terra Cotta Vessels</i> - - -	„ „
<i>Terra Cotta Funnel</i> - - -	„ „
<i>Hone or Sharpening Stone</i> - - -	Purchased.
<i>Bone Pin</i> - - - - -	„
<i>Iron Spearhead</i> - - - - -	„
<i>Iron Key</i> - - - - -	„
<i>Bronze Bell</i> - - - - -	„
<i>Various Coins and Fragments of Pottery, &c., &c.</i> - - - - -	} „

MEDIÆVAL AND LATER.

*Presented by**Old Flint-lock Fowling-piece* - Mr. F. W. Longbottom.*Ecclesiastical Floor Tile* - - Purchased.

<i>Various objects from Shore, near</i>	}	"
<i>Meols, Cheshire</i> - - -		

The additions to the Library have been principally made through our exchanges with other Archæological and learned Societies; and fresh Societies are added to our list nearly every year. At the present time, by this system of exchange, we annually add to our collection about 18 valuable volumes of transactions and publications.

We have to thank Mr. Newstead, F.E.S., for the gift of *Cuman's* "Mysterès de Mithra" (2 vols.); and Mr. George Lowe for "The new Annual Register or General Repository of History, Politics, and Literature for the year 1783"; and we have purchased *Ormerod's* "Memoir of the Cheshire Domesday Roll."

The Society also subscribes to the *Antiquary*, the *Index Library*, the *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, and the *Cheshire Sheaf*.

EDWARD HODKINSON,

Hon. Curator and Librarian.

MAY, 1900.

CHESTER & NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL & HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Year ending March 31st, 1900.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Subscriptions—1896.....	1 1 0	By Balance deficit from last Account.....	23 15 5
„ „ 1897.....	2 2 0	„ Grosvenor Museum Management Committee	60 0 0
„ „ 1898.....	5 15 6	„ Secretary's Salary..... £10 0 0	
„ „ 1899.....	100 4 6	„ Commission on Subscriptions collected.. 5 9 0	
„ Dividend on London and North-Western Railway	109 3 0	„ Subscriptions to Antiquarian Societies, Books, &c.	15 9 0
Stock.....	20 17 8	„ Museum Expenses, and Repairs to Cases, &c.	8 8 7
		„ Purchase of Old Coins and Pottery	3 2 8
		„ Illustrations for Volumes.....	3 11 5
		„ Expenses of Excursion.....	12 0 4
Balance carried down.....	130 0 8	„ Expenses of Lectures	1 5 10
	11 1 9	„ Expenses of Lectures	1 6 0
		„ Bank Interest and Sundries.....	0 13 4
		„ Printing, Postages, and Stationery	11 9 10
	£141 2 5		£141 2 5
		Balance brought down	11 1 9
		Add Accounts unpaid, viz. :—	
		Publication of Journal, Vol. VI., Part 3. £31 15 0	
		Lantern Expenses	3 3 0
			34 18 0
		Balance deficiency carried to next Account	£45 19 9

MAY 25TH, 1900—Examined with the Vouchers and found correct,

JOHN DODDS,
HON. TREASURER.

W. W. TASKER,
HON. AUDITOR.



ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1900-1901

Council Meeting, June 16th, 1900 ; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. It was decided that the Annual Excursion should consist of a visit to Lichfield Cathedral, &c., on Wednesday, July 4th. The Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., having resigned his post as Hon. Editorial Secretary, a hearty vote of thanks to him for his services was accorded ; and it was decided to ask the Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Hoylake, if he would kindly undertake the work.

The gift of some Roman remains by Mr. Chesters was reported, and he was thanked for the same. It was decided to send copies of the New Catalogue to Messrs. Phillipson and Golder, Messrs. Minshull and Meeson, Mr. F. W. Chapman, and Huke's Library, for sale at 2/6 each.

The Summer Excursion took place on Wednesday, July 4th, 1900 ; leaving Chester at 10-10 a.m., the party reached Lichfield at 12-6. In their visit to the Cathedral they were received by Bishop Anson, the Canon in Residence ; whilst the intelligent Verger proved a most capable guide. Visits were also paid to the City Buildings, and to Mr. Bridgman's Works, where carvings in wood and stone were being executed. The Excursion proved most enjoyable.

A Meeting of the Council was summoned for Sept. 27th, 1900 ; but only the Venerable Archdeacon Barber and the Secretary were present.

Council Meeting, October 18th, 1900; Venerable Arch-deacon Barber in the Chair. Various Accounts were passed for payment. On the Motion of Mr. Hodgkinson, Seconded by Mr. Skipwith, it was

Resolved :—“ That the Rev. F. Sanders, Vicar of Hoylake, be elected Hon. Editorial Secretary.”

Various Accounts in connection with the Catalogue were presented, and the Secretary was instructed to consult Mr. Haverfield about them. It was decided to send £5 to Mr. Hargreaves for Mrs. Thompson Watkin, to be distributed at his discretion.

Council Meeting, November 20th, 1900; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair. Several new Members were elected. It was agreed that Part III., of Vol. VI., of the Journal should complete that Volume; Mr. Newstead kindly undertaking to prepare an Index for it. It was also agreed that the Catalogue be considered as Volume VII; and, that all Papers at present in hand be forwarded to Rev. F. Sanders to commence Part I. of Vol. VIII.

Some correspondence was read which showed that the cost of the Catalogue would be £69 16s. 7d.

A letter from Rev. F. Sanders was read accepting, for one year, the position of Editorial Secretary. The loan of several blocks to Mr. Newstead, as illustrations for his Paper, and of “The Recorders” to Dr. Bridge, was granted.

The Hon. Curator reported the gift of the following articles:—Roman Ewer, Roman Potters’ Marks, Roman Cinerary Urn, Mosaic Glass, &c., and certain books by Miss Ormerod.

The Opening Meeting of the Session 1900-1901 was held on Tuesday, November 20th, at 8 p.m., in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, when Mr. W. Fergusson

Irvine read a most interesting Paper, illustrated by Lantern Slides, on "The Old Halls of Wirral."

Council Meeting, December 18th; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. Mr. Newstead presented the Index of the last Volume which he had prepared, and was warmly thanked for the same. It was decided that the Chairman should write to the Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., and ask for the old Minute Book and other Papers belonging to the Society.

A letter was read from Mr. F. H. Williams, offering to present his collection of antiquities to the Society. It was Proposed by the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, and

Resolved:—"That a very hearty vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Williams for his kind gift, and that he be elected an Honorary Member of the Society."

The Second Meeting of the Session was held on Tuesday, December 18th, in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at 8 p.m., when the Rev. W. S. Johns, M.A., read a Paper upon "The Church and Parish of Plemstall and the historical associations connected therewith"

Council Meeting, January 21st, 1901; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. It was reported that Mr. Armstrong was unable to give his promised Paper, so that the usual Sessional Meeting had to be omitted. The Chairman reported that the Rev. Canon Morris had returned the Minute Book, &c. Various matters of finance, outstanding Subscriptions, and Accounts, were also considered.

Council Meeting, February 19th; Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair. Various Accounts were passed. The Hon. Treasurer, after consultation with the Secretary, made the following recommendations:—

- (1) That Subscriptions, due January 1st, be collected at once;

- (2) That in the month of September next a notification be sent to the Members, intimating to them that Subscriptions are due in advance of January 1st in each year; but that they will not be collected till the following September;
- (3) That Mr. Conway's remuneration be fixed for the present at £15 15s.

The Third Meeting of the Session was held on Tuesday, Feb. 19th, in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at 8 p.m., when a Paper by Mr. H. D. Harrod, F.S.A., entitled "The Origin of the Chester Rows" was read in his absence by Mr. Hodgkinson.

Council Meeting, March 19th; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. Various Accounts were passed and new Members elected. The death of Mr. Alexander Lamont, a Member of the Council, was reported; and on the Motion of the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. H. Taylor, it was

Resolved :—"That a vote of condolence and sympathy be sent to Mrs. Lamont and family in their bereavement."

The Fourth Meeting of the Session was held on Tuesday, March 19th, in the Lecture Theatre of the Grosvenor Museum, at 8 p.m., when the Venerable Archdeacon Barber read a Paper entitled "The Nave Roof of the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill."

Council Meeting, April 15th, 1901; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. The Annual Statement of Accounts was presented and passed, subject to audit.

The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. E. Hodgkinson, Mr. F. Skipwith, and Mr. W. E. Brown, were elected to represent the Society on the Museum Management Committee.

A letter from the Clerk to the Cheshire County Council was read, drawing attention to the provisions of the

"Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1900," and the Chairman was requested to reply to it, and to say that the Society would co-operate with the County Council in the preservation of the Ancient Monuments of the County.

Resolved :-- "That the Ven. Archdeacon Barber be requested to write to His Grace The Duke of Westminster inviting him to become the Patron of the Society in succession to his Grandfather, the late Duke of Westminster."

Council Meeting. April 29th ; Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. The financial position of the Society was thoroughly discussed, and it was decided to recommend that the Subscription should be 10/6 instead of £1 1/-; every Member being allowed a copy of the Volume of the Transactions. It was also decided to arrange for a series of local Excursions to the Cathedral and other places in the City and the immediate neighbourhood, so as to arouse and maintain greater interest in the Society. A Sub-Committee was appointed to draw up the Report and to arrange for the Summer Excursion.

The Chairman reported that The Duke of Westminster had consented to become Patron of the Society. He also reported the death of the Bishop of Oxford, and it was

Resolved :—"That a sincere vote of condolence be offered to Mrs. Stubbs and family in the loss of her Husband, Bishop Stubbs, President of the Society during the time he was resident in Chester."

General Annual Meeting, May 28th, 1901, at 8 p.m.
Present : Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Messrs. E. Hodgkinson, W. E. Brown, Henry Taylor, R. Newstead, and Walter Conway, Secretary.

The Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting of the Members held on June 5th, 1900, were read, confirmed, and signed, by the Chairman.

The Annual Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator's and Librarian's Reports, and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts were taken as read; and on the Motion of the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. H. Taylor, were adopted.

Dr. Bridge, Messrs. T. S. Gleadowe, F. W. Longbottom, C. H. Minshull, W. E. Brown, and R. Newstead, were re-elected Members of the Council.

Mr. G. W. Haswell was elected Hon. Auditor for the ensuing year.

Votes of thanks were accorded to (1) the Donors of Books and objects of antiquarian interest during the past year; and (2) to the Officers and Council of the Society for their services; and (3) to the Chairman for presiding.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council have pleasure in submitting their Annual Report for the year ending 31st March, 1901, and in doing so are glad to be able to congratulate the Members upon the Society having passed through its Jubilee year.

To mark this event, the Council decided to issue to the Members as a Volume, the illustrated Catalogue, prepared by Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A., of the Inscribed Roman Antiquities belonging to, and in the custody of, the Society. (Copies may be obtained at the Museum).

During the Session four Meetings have been held and the following Papers read :—

November 20th, 1900.—Chairman : Dr. Stolterfoth. Subject—
“The Old Halls of Wirral,” by Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

December 18th, 1900.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"The Church and Parish of Plemstall and the historical associations connected therewith," by Rev. W. S. Johns, Rector of Plemstall; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

February 19th, 1901.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber
Subject—"The origin of the Chester Rows," by Mr. H. D. Harrod, F.S.A.; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

March 19th, 1901.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"The Nave Roof of the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill," by Ven. Archdeacon Barber; illustrated by Lantern Slides.

Under Rule 4 the following Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election:—Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. F. W. Longbottom, Mr. C. H. Minshull, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mr. R. Newstead, and Mr. W. E. Brown.

The following gentlemen have been elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, viz.:—The Ven. Archdeacon Barber, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, Mr. F. Skipwith, and Mr. W. E. Brown.

The Summer Excursion took place last year to Lichfield Cathedral, and proved most interesting to those who were able to attend it. This year it is arranged to visit Much Wenlock (with its Priory, Parish Church, Guildhall, &c.), and Buildwas Abbey, on June 5th.

The Council are glad to announce that The Duke of Westminster has consented to be the Patron of the Society, in succession to the late Duke. They have also pleasure in stating that the Rev. Francis Sanders, M.A., of Hoylake, has promised to undertake the duties of Editorial Secretary in the place of the Rev. Canon Morris, D.D.

The Council desire to record the thanks of the Society to the donors of the various objects presented during the past year; and also to Mr. Siddall for kindly illustrating, with the Lantern, the Papers read.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Account is submitted. The Council regret it shews a deficiency of £53 8s. 1d.; but the extra cost of the Catalogue is mainly responsible for this.

The Council, having considered the financial position of the Society, unanimously recommend that the Subscription be reduced to 10/6; every subscribing Member receiving the publications of the Society. It is hoped that by such reduction the number of Members will be largely increased, and the Council trust that the present Members will do their utmost to induce others to join. They also recommend that more frequent Excursions to inspect the many objects of interest in the City and its immediate vicinity should be arranged.

THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

I HAVE the pleasure to report that our Society has become the possessor of another valuable collection of antiquities. This munificent gift, made by and presented to us by Mr. Frank H. Williams, contains upwards of three hundred objects, ranging in date from prehistoric to comparatively modern times, found in the City and immediate neighbourhood, and catalogued with great minuteness and elaboration by the donor.

Amongst other objects that we have acquired during the last twelve months is the continuation of the Inscribed

Roman Lead Water Piping, discovered in Eastgate Street in 1899, and presented to the Society by the family of the late Mr. T. R. P. Royle.

To Captain Mascie Taylor we are indebted for a pair of Iron Cow Shoes from the neighbourhood of Bala; and to Mrs. J. H. Spencer for some valuable pieces of Samian Bowls.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. Robert Newstead, F.E.S., for many objects collected and added to our Museum by his watchful and indefatigable energy.

Our Library, as heretofore, is principally increased by the yearly exchanges with kindred Societies of Journals and Publications; and we also continue to subscribe to the *Antiquary*, *Index Library*, *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, and the *Cheshire Sheaf*.

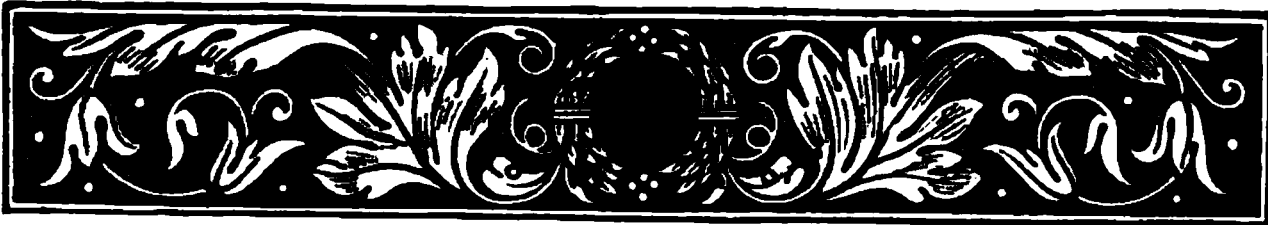
To Miss Eleanor A. Ormerod, LL.D., we are indebted for the gift of some of her Father's Works, viz: "Strigulensia" (2 vols.); "Parentalia" (1 vol.); and "Miscellanea Palatina" (1 vol.). To Mr. P. B. Davies-Cooke for "L'Homme de la Barma Grande," by *Verneau*; and to Mr. Royle for a Volume of "The Chester Miscellany: being a collection in Prose and Verse from the *Chester Courant* from January 1745 to 1750."

EDWARD HODKINSON,

Hon. Curator and Librarian.

MAY, 1901.





LIST OF MEMBERS, 1901.

- Baker, Miss, 2, Grey Friars, Chester
Barber, The Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., St. Bridget's Rectory, Chester
Barbour, George, D.L., J.P., Bolesworth Castle, near Chester
Barlow, W. H., 5, Willow Bank Road, Higher Tranmere, Birkenhead
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Bax, P. B. Ironside, Stanley Place, Chester
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Brown, F. F., M.A., Eastgate Row, Chester
Brown, W. E., Pepper Street, Chester
Brown, Mrs. W. E., 33, Parkgate Road, Chester
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- Campbell, Mrs. Pitcairn, Vicar's Cross, Chester
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Chester, The Very Rev. The Dean of, The Deanery, Chester
Chester, The Right Worshipful The Mayor of, Town Hall, Chester
Chester, The Sheriff of, Town Hall, Chester
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Cummings, Sidney, 6, King's Buildings, Chester

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Davies, Samuel, Alvanley House, Frodsham
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Davison, Mrs., Brookside, Hoole Road, Chester
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Dutton, H. B., 27, Curzon Park, Chester
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Elliott, Miss, 24, Nicholas Street, Chester
Ewing, C. A., Queen's Park, Chester
- Farrall, Rev. L. M., M.A., Watergate Square, Chester
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[Chester
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Fleming, Mrs., Rowton Grange, Chester
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Gleadowe, H., Alderley Edge, near Manchester
Gleadowe, R. L., Alderley Edge, near Manchester
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Grantham, Rev. Henry, St. Mary's Rectory, Chester
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 Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., Town Hall, Lancaster
 Humberston, Miss, Newton Hall, Chester
- Irvine, W. Fergusson, 56, Park Road South, Birkenhead
- Jackson, Roger, J.P., Hough Green, Chester
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- King, Dr., Nicholas Street, Chester
 Knowles, E. R., Grosvenor Street, Chester
- Lamont, A., Grey Friars, Chester
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 Library, Free Public, St. John Street, Chester
 Library, Peel Park, Manchester
 Library, Cheetham's, Manchester
 Library, City of London, Guildhall, London
 Library, Bodleian, Oxford
 Library, Boston Public, *per* Kegan, Paul & Co., London
 Library, New York Public, *per* B. F. Stevens, Esq., 4, Trafalgar Square,
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 Longbottom, F. W., Queen's Park, Chester
- Mann, Dr., Newgate Street, Chester
 Marsden, Miss, Grosvenor Park Road, Chester
 Mason, F. B., St. Werburgh Street, Chester
 McEwen, Mrs., Pen-rallt, Abergele
 Mesham, Colonel Arthur, J.P., Pontyffrydd, Trefnant, near Rhyl
 Minshull, C. H., Abbey Square, Chester
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Ould, E. A., The Mount, Boughton, Chester

Parker, William, National Provincial Bank, Chester
Pennant, P. P., D.L., M.A., J.P., Nantlys, St. Asaph
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Skipwith, Francis, Old Bank, Chester
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Smith, Samuel, Abbey Gateway, Chester
Stewart, Martin, Edgar House, Chester
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Tasker, W. W., Brookfield, Hoole Road, Chester
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Taylor, James, F.R.C.S., Nicholas Street, Chester
Thomas, Edward, Pepper Street, Chester
Thomas, Dr. Haynes, Pepper Street, Chester
Thomas, Dr. F. Dodd, Pepper Street, Chester
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Tomkinson, Mrs., Willington Hall, Tarporley

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- Walker, Miss E. S., 6, Warwick Road, Upper Clapton, N.E.
- Warburton, P. Egerton, J.P., The Dene, Northwich
- Webster, T., Leasowe Bank, Birkenhead
- Westminster, His Grace The Duke of, Eaton Hall, Chester
- Wilbraham, Miss, 5, King's Buildings, Chester
- Wilbraham, Miss E., 5, King's Buildings, Chester
- Williams, D. A. V. Colt, Manley Hall, Manley, *via* Warrington
- Williams, James, County Offices, Chester Castle
- Williams, Isaac, Cuppin Street, Chester
- Williams, F. H., 36, Brook Street, Chester
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London, E.C.
- Wood, J. M., Newmarket
- Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Hatton, Daresbury
- Wyndham, Right Hon. George, M.P., Saughton Grange, Chester
- Yerburgh, R. A., M.P., 25, Kensington Gore, London, S.W.





INDEX

A

Abbot of Chester, John, 30, 34
Abbot of Vale Royal, Thomas, 30
Abstract of Proceedings of the Society,
114—136
Accounts, Statement of, 126, 136
Agricola, Roman Lead Water Pipes
bearing name of, 87—92
Anselm, St., 22
Atcham, Excursion to, 115

B

Barber, Ven. E.—The Nave Roof of
the Church of S. Mary-on-the-
Hill. 67—80
Barber's Lane (see Barker's Lane)
Barker's Lane, 54
Basingwerke Abbey, Roof of, in the
Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill
supposed to have been brought
from, 76
Baystowe, Ralph de, 112
Bebington, Jenkin of, 41
Beeston, Thomas, 30, 39
Benedict, St., Liberal hospitality of
Monks of, ref., 22
Bible, Chained, at Plemstall, 47
Birkenhead, Ferry from, to Liverpool,
35
—— Richard, Prior of, 30, 35
Bloreheath, Battle at, Lines of Dray-
ton on, 42, 43
Bolde, Richard, 21

Boughton, Stock's Lane, Roman Urns
recovered from, 101
Bradford, Lord, 46
Brereton, Randle, 30, 38
Bridge Gate, John Troutbeck, Ser-
geant of, 36
Bridge Street, Objects recovered from
excavations on premises of Messrs.
Davies & Shephard, 104, 105
—— Objects recovered from excava-
tions for new Offices of the *Chester
Chronicle*, 103
Bridgeman, Bishop, 46
Bromley, Sir John, 33
Brown, Alderman Charles, Obituary.
120
Bunbury, Richard, 30, 40

C

Cade, Jack, 20
Calviley, Hugh, 30, 38
Carpenters' Marks on the Roof of the
Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill,
74, 75
Carved Work on the Roof of the
Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill,
67—80
Cecil, Sir Robert, 8
Chatsworth, Lache of, 114
Chester, A Defence of the Liberties
of (H. D. Harrod), 18—44
Transcription of original Document,
28; Description of Seals on, 30, 31
—— Abbey of, founded by St. An-
selm, ref., 22

- Chester, City Baths, Roman Objects found in Excavations for, 93—100
 — City, brought to ruinous condition, *circa* 1444, 21
 — Earldom of, independent of the Crown, 22
 — Immunity of, from Taxation, 32
 — John, Abbot of, 30
 — King as Earl of, 27
 Cholmondeley, Richard, 30
 Cilcain Church, ref. to Roof of, 78, 79
 Clifton, Margaret, 36
 Clive, Richard, 38, 41
 Coins—Silver Groats of Edward III., found in Upper Northgate Street, 102
 Colt, Abigail, 9
 Colt, John, 9
 Colte (Poultrain), Maximilian, 1—17
 Common Hall Lane, 58
 Cotes, Alexander, 1—17
 Cotes Monument: once set up in S. John's Church, Chester (Canon S. Cooper Scott), 1—17
 Document relating to, 1; Witnesses thereto, 7; Biography of, 16; Could the Sculptor, 8—11; Alexander Cotes, party to Contract, 12 Description of the Arms on, 16, 17
 Cow Lane or Frodsham Street, Roman Lamp found at, 105
 Cranford Church, Middlesex, 11
 Critz, John de, 10
 Crypt, 14th century, in Bridge Street, 103
 Cupping Lane, 54
 Cure, Cornelius, 11
 Cyvelioc, Hugh, Earl of Chester, 31, 33, 38

D

- Danyell, Thomas, 30
 Davenport, John, 34
 Dee, Mills of the, 113
 — Sands choked up mouth of, in 1450, 21

- Defence of the Liberties of Chester, A (H. D. Harrod), 18—44
 Derby House, Chester, 117
 Done, Hugh, 31
 Done, John, 37
 Done, Margaret, 38
 Donne, John, 21, 30
 Dorset, Marquis of, 35
 Dudley, Edmund Lord, 35
 Dudley, John Lord, 30
 Dutton, John, 22
 Dutton of Hatton, John, 30, 40

E

- Earl of Chester, King as, 27
 Eastgate Street, Objects recovered from excavations in, 82—87, 87—93
 Edward III., Silver Groats of, found in Upper Northgate Street, 103
 Edwardian Jug or Pitcher, 105
 — Patent Roll, 114
 Egerton, John, 30, 39
 Empson, Richard, 35

F

- Fleshmonger's Lane, 54
 Foulshurst, Robert, 34
 Foulshurst, Thomas, 33

G

- Gamul, Raufe or Rauf, 30, 39
 Gleadowe, T. S.—Gift of £20, 121
 Graffiti, ref., 107
 Grey, Edmund Lord, 30
 Grey, Lady Jane, 35
 Grosvenor, Raulyn, 30, 38
 Grosvenor, Sir Thomas, 34, 38
 Grosvenor Road, Objects recovered from excavations in, 102

H

- Hamlak, William, Baron de Ros of, 35
 Harrod, Henry Dawes—A Defence of the Liberties of Chester, 18—44
 — The Chester Rows, 48—66
 Haverfield, F.—Paper, "The Roman Walls of Chester," 119
 Hawberk, Sir Nicholas, 113
 Hawarden, John de, 21
 Hogh, Thomas, 30
 Holford, William, 30, 40
 Holme, Randle, 12
 Holme, Robert, 13
 Hough, Thomas, 41
 Howard, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, 13
 Hulme, Randall, 12
 Hulse, Margaret, 36
 Human Remains near Canal Side, 100
 Huntington, Earl, 35

I

- Inquisition of 1449, 21, 22
 Irvine, W. Fergusson—Paper, "The Old Halls of Wirral," 132

J

- Jenkyn of Bebington, 30
 Johns, Rev. W. S.—A short Epitome of a Paper on Plemstall Parish Church, 45—47
 Joiners' Marks on Roof of the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, 74, 75

K

- Kilmorey, Earl of, 27
 King, Alexander, 14
 King's Master Carver: Maximilian Colt, 8
 Koult (see Colt)

L

- Lead Miners brought from the High Peak to work in Flintshire, Early (Henry Taylor), 112—114
 Leche, Sir Philip, 114
 Leche, Ralph le, 112
 Leche, Sir Roger le, 113
 Leigh, Sir Robert, 33, 34
 Lichfield, Excursion to, 127
 Liverpool, Ferry from, to Birkenhead, 35

M

- Mainwaring, John, 21
 Mainwaring, Sir John, 33
 Mainwaring, Margaret, 34
 Mainwaring, Randle, 33
 Mainwaring, Sir Thomas, 33
 Mainwaring, Wm., 41
 (See also Maynwaring)
 Manley, Thomas, 30, 39
 Manley of Manley, Thos., 39
 Manny, James, 11
 Massey, Hamon de, 35
 Maynwaring, John, 30
 Maynwaring, William, 30
 Monument, Cotes, once set up in S. John's Church, Chester (Canon S. Cooper Scott), 1—17
 Monuments, Elizabethan, ref. to the, in Westminster Abbey, St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, Stratford-on-Avon, St. Bartholomew's, and Smithfield, 6
 Monuments, Royal, Maximilian Coult, Carver of, 15
 Museum, Additions to, 124, 125, 134, 135

N

- Needham, Sir John, 27, 34
 Needham, John, 30
 Nevill, Eleanor, 36
 Nevil, Richard, 36

Newstead, R.—A descriptive account of Roman and other objects recovered from various sites in Chester and District, 81—106

— Paper on "The recent discovery of an important Roman Building in Bridge Street, Chester," 118

— Paper on the "Antiquities from the North-Western end of the Wirral Peninsula," 120

Northgate Street, Upper, Objects recovered from excavations in, 102, 103

Northumberland, Duke of, 36

O

Ogart, Andrewe, 30

Ogart, Sir Andrew, 36

P

Plegmund, living as a Hermit at Plemstall, 45

Plegmundstall Church (see Plemstall)

Plemstall, Chained Bible at, 47

— Christening Well at, 46

— Parish Church, A short Epitome of a Paper on (W. S. Johns), 45—47

Pole, William de la, 36

Poultrain (see Colt)

Poutraine (see Colt)

Poutram (see Colt)

Powell, W., 13

Powell, William, 14

Powells of Horsley, Coat of Arms used by, ref., 16

Pull, Thomas, 30, 40

R

Ravenscroft, Henry, 30, 41

Richmond, Earl of, 36

Roman and other objects recovered from various sites in Chester and District, A descriptive account of (R. Newstead), 81—106

Roman Potters' Stamps, An extended list of (Frank H. Williams), 107—111

— Antefix or Gable Ornament, 99

— Bronze Bell, 86, 87, 102

— Bronze Bolt of Lock, 86

— Bronze Slip, inscribed VTERE FELIX, 85

— Bronze Bar, 86

— Bronze Centre-bit, 86

— Bronze, Various objects in, 94

— Cinerary Urns, 101

— Concrete Floor, 85

— Cursive Signature on *Patera*, 92, 97

— *Fibula*, 86

— Finger Cups, 95

— *Fossa* or Ditch, 93, 94

— Glass, 87, 95

— Graffiti on fragment of vessel, 97

— Herring-bone Pavement, 87

— Hippo-Sandal, 83

— Hone or Whetstone, 94

— Iron, Objects in, 94

— Key, 102

— Lamp, 105

— *Lararium*, 82

— Lead Water Pipes, 87—92

— Lead, Objects in, 94

— *Mortaria*, 86

— *Patera* or Dish with Cursive Signature, 92, 93

— Pitcher (*Urseus*), 96

— Potter's Implement, 93

— Pottery, 86, 95

— — Fragments of Samian and other ware, 96

— Sandal or *Caliga*, 99, 100

— Shield, Umbo of, 86

— Spade, 84

— Spear Head, 102

— Statuette of Venus, 98

— Tessellated Floor discovered in Bridge Street, 104

Roof, The Nave of the Church of
S. Mary-on-the-Hill (Ven. E.
Barber), 67—80

Rows, The Chester (H. D. Harrod),
48—66

Ruthyn, Baron Grey de, 35

S

Salghall, John, Abbot, 23

Scott, Canon S. Cooper—Cotes Mon-
ument : once set up in S. John's
Church, Chester, 1—17

Shrewsbury, Excursion to, 115

Signet of the Eagle : temp. Hen. VI.,
32

Somerset, John, Duke of, 36

Sparke, Anne, 13, 14

Sparke, John, 14

Sparke, Richard, 12, 14

Sparke, Thomas, 15

Spurstowe, Richard, 41,

Spurstowe, Richard Clive, 30

S. John's Church, Chester, Cotes Mon-
ument : once set up in (Canon S.
Cooper Scott), 1—17

S. Mary-on-the-Hill, The Nave Roof
of the Church of (Ven. E. Barber).
67—80

Stamford, Earls of, 35

Stanley, Dean, ref. to Memorials of
Westminster Abbey, 9

Stanley, Sir Thomas, 36

Stanley, Thomas, 30

Stanley, William, 30

Stock's Lane, Boughton, Roman Urns
recovered from, 101

Stuart, Mary, Tomb of, in Westmins-
ter Abbey, ref. to, 10

Swinerton, Richard, 30, 41

T

Taylor, Henry—Early Lead Miners
brought from the High Peak to
work in Flintshire, 112—114

Towton, Battle of, ref., 43, 44

Troutbeck, John, 30, 36

Troutbeck, William, 36

U

Upton, near Chester, Silver Coin of
Malleolus found at, 105, 106

Uriconium, Excursion to, 116

V

Vale Royal, Abbey of, founded, 35

— — Thomas, Abbot of, 30

Venables, Margery, 33

Venables, Thomas, 30, 41

Venus, Roman Statuette of, 98

Vernon, Sir Richard, 34

W

Watling Street, ref., 45, 94

Walsingham, Sir Francis, 10

Westminster, K.G., His Grace The
Duke of, Obituary, 119

Whitmore, William, 30, 40

Wideville, Elizabeth, 35

Williams, Frank H. — An extended
List of Potters' Stamps on the
Red-glazed Roman Ware (popu-
larly known as Samian) found
at Chester ; with chief forms
of Stamping briefly classified,
107—111

— Paper "On a portion of a Stone
Cross, of very early date, found
in the City, 118

— Collection of Antiquities, Gift
of, 129

Wirral, The Old Halls of—Paper by
W. Fergusson Irvine, 132

Wood, Lawrence, 15

Worsley, Ralph, 14

Wroxeter, Excursion to, 115

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**Monument to His Grace the late Duke of Westminster, K.G., South Transept,
Chester Cathedral, looking south-east**

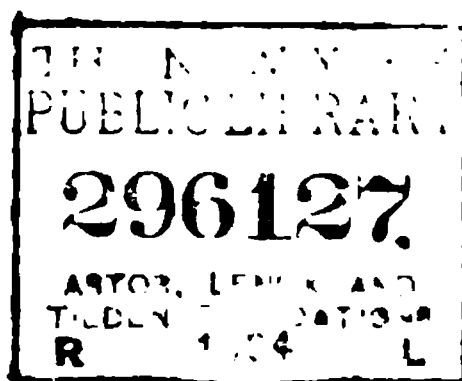
(See page 110)

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Table of Contents

	PAGE	PLATES
THE CLOISTERS OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL. By the Ven. E. Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester	5—19 ..	4
LUDLOW AND THE MASQUE OF COMUS. By Joseph C. Bridge, M.A., Mus. Doc. (Oxon.) - -	20—45 ..	3
CHESTER CATHEDRAL: THE STALLS, MISERERES, AND WOODWORK OF THE CHOIR. By the Ven. E. Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester	46—58 ..	7
THE CHESTER MIRACLE PLAYS; SOME FACTS CON- CERNING THEM, AND THE SUPPOSED AUTHOR- SHIP OF RALPH HIGDEN. By Joseph C. Bridge, M.A., Mus. Doc. (Oxon.) - - -	59—98 ..	—
THE SOUTH TRANSEPT OF CHESTER CATHEDRAL. By the Ven. E. Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester :	99—114 ..	8
THE DISCOVERY OF RALPH HIGDEN'S TOMB. By the Ven. E. Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester	115—128 ..	1
NOTES ON FOUR LEADEN WEIGHTS, OF SUPPOSED ROMAN ORIGIN, IN THE GROSVENOR MUSEUM, CHESTER. By Thos. May. -	129—131 ..	—
ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1901-1902 - . . .	132—146 ..	—
VISITS TO THE CATHEDRAL -	136—140 ..	1
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL -	146—148 ..	—
THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT -	149 ..	—
BALANCE SHEET -	150 ..	—
LIST OF MEMBERS -	151—155 ..	—
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS -	156—157 ..	—
INDEX -	158—162 ..	—

The Cloisters of Chester Cathedral ✓

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A.,

ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(Read 18th January, 1902)

WOULD it be too much to say that seldom has any building been alienated farther from its original purpose than our venerable Cloisters? What are they now? One of the most frequented entrances to the Cathedral; trodden, in the course of the year, by thousands of residents and tourists, and daily by Choristers and Dignitaries on their way to the services of the Church. Through the vandalism of a former Dean (who cut a passage through the western end of the Refectory, and thus destroyed the proportions of that beautiful and interesting building) our Cloisters have become one of the most-used ways of approaching the Cathedral, instead of being, as they were intended to be, a most retired and secluded spot. The very name implies this, for "*claustrum*," from which it is derived, signifies a closed place, an enclosure fenced-off and protected from improper uses. The name, too, would apply not merely to the walk around the square, but also to the square itself; though, as a matter of fact, we should most of us define "*Cloisters*" as a covered walk, with a groined-roof overhead, lighted by openings

or traceried windows on the side next the enclosure. But this is outside the original meaning of the word, our impressions being derived from the most usual form and construction of Cloisters within our experience. It may be that here in Chester, where we are accustomed to somewhat similar covered passages in our Rows, our Cloisters do not impress us so deeply as they do visitors to our ancient City. In the remarks I shall make this afternoon I shall so far follow this prevalent idea, that I shall speak of the covered way as the Cloisters, and the enclosure within as the Cloister-garth.

We have to go back to early days to find out the original purpose and object of this portion of the monastic buildings. So great was the importance of the Cloister in a Monastery, that it has been called the home of the monk. It was connected not only with the Church, but with the various rooms or apartments which were occupied by the monks by day and by night. In the Cloisters was placed the lavatory, so that on descending from their dormitory they could perform at once their necessary ablutions. Here, too, were their studies or *scriptoria*, to which they would find ready access, either from their Refectory or common-room, or after taking part in the offices of the Church. In a certain part, generally in the west walk, the novices and other youths were taught by the master of the novices; and interesting traces of this are found at Westminster, where, at the north end of the west walk of the Cloisters, may be seen several sets of nine-holes, evidently cut by boys in their idle moods for the playing of some game. I remember the late Precentor Venables pointing out indications of a similar practice by the door into the nave, leading out of the west walk of our own Cloisters. History seemed, in some measure, to be

repeating itself, when I saw our choir-boys being put through their dumb-bell exercise in this part of the Cloisters the other day. But such practices were quite foreign to the purpose of the Cloisters, which were to be places for quiet retirement for meditation and study, and where absolute silence was enforced; though the rule was at times relaxed. It is interesting to note that, at Clairvaux, so late as 1709, the authors of the *Voyage Littéraire* record that in the Cloisters "the Religious must keep a perpetual silence." They would, from time to time, re-echo with the footfalls of the monks as they went in orderly procession to the services of the Church. But, generally, stillness would reign, save when the instruction of the novices was proceeding, broken now and again by the footstep of one of the brethren as he went to the Precentor (who was also Armarius or Librarian), for some book which he needed. The windows were, of course, filled with glass, but no fire was allowed, and the hardy monks pursued their studies or copied manuscripts without any artificial heat; though in the winter the floor was strewn with hay, straw, or rushes.

We are not concerned to-day with the purpose or use of Cloisters attached to Churches where there was no religious house: as for example at Wells. Possibly, the convenience of having a covered way connecting the Church with the Library and the Chapter House, would lead to the adoption, in such cases, of this form of building, and the copying of the monastic arrangements.

Let us consider, now, the position of the Cloisters. I remember hearing an opinion expressed that this was due to the particular Order of Monks to which the Monastery belonged; and that you could determine this by noting whether the Cloisters were to the north or

to the south of the Church. Such an opinion was quite erroneous. The usual site for the Cloisters was on the south, and any deviation from this custom would be due to special and local considerations. Dean Howson was probably right when he said that "the monks were hemmed in by the boundaries of S. Oswald's Parish on the south, while a large amount of land, freely available, was given to them on the north." They would also thus secure greater privacy, by having the monastic buildings away from the City, and between the Church and the City Wall. The same reason applies to Christ Church, Canterbury, and other places. At Buildwas, Mr. Cranage suggests that, probably, more convenient drainage led to the erection of the Cloisters on the north, the river being on the north side of the Church. But the rule is clearly otherwise: as you find in Benedictine Houses at Durham, Worcester, Ely, Peterborough, Croyland, Evesham, Westminster, and elsewhere; in Cistercian Houses at Fountains, Kirkstall, Furness, Byland, and other places; and in Canons' Houses at Easby, Carlisle, and Shap.

Turning to the Cloisters themselves, we naturally enquire whether there were any in Norman times, and whether there are any traces to lead us to such a conclusion. Mr. Parker, in his tractate on "The Mediæval Architecture of Chester," published in 1858 (expanded from a Paper read by him at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Chester, in July, 1857), says: "It is evident that there was an early Cloister, even at the Norman period. This is shown particularly by the Norman doorway at the east end of the north aisle, opening into the eastern walk of the Cloisters, the jamb of which is partly hid by the present wall." Going round the Cloisters we see this masonry, which points

to some building outside the Church having existed in Norman times at this particular part of the site, and which may have been a portion of the Norman Cloisters. The only other indication would seem to be the six arched recesses in the north wall of the Church, along the south walk of the Cloisters. This arcading, in two groups of three, belongs to two different periods in the 12th Century. The wall of the Church, which intervenes between these groups, seems to the ordinary observer to betoken that some building had abutted on it, and been removed; though I should be sorry to advance a definite opinion on this point. If there ever were other masonry here, it may have been part of the Cloister of Norman days, or merely a buttress. Sir Gilbert Scott, in his Paper read before our Society on June 8th, 1870, says: "All we read of is of the place where the Abbots were interred; and six of these are still marked by arched recesses in the northern wall of the nave, facing the Cloisters. They were intended, probably, for the tombs of the first six Abbots, though I can only hear of four who were really buried there." Dean Howson, in his Hand-book to the Cathedral, alludes to the discovery, in the eastern part of this side of the Cloister, of "remains which can be confidently identified with those of the first Abbot; and also of monumental stones, recording the third and fourth Abbots, at some depth below the surface." These stones are to be seen at the east end of the south Cloister walk. Our present Dean, however, in his charming little book on the Cathedral, says, that it is incorrect to describe these recesses as tombs of Abbots, and that they are "the *Armaria*, i.e., the places where the monks had their bookshelves." In his recently published volume on "The Care of Books," Mr. J. W. Clarke, F.S.A.,

speaks with some hesitation on this point, and says: "In the south Cloister of Chester Cathedral are six recesses of early Norman design, which, *if not sepulchral*, may once have contained books." Mr. Cranage writes to me thus: "The number of the recesses seems to me against the book theory, for in the 12th Century there would rarely, if ever, be sufficient books to fill them." When "doctors thus differ, who shall decide"? The recesses may be taken as evidence of the existence of Norman Cloisters or not, according as we adopt the one view or the other.

There is another Norman recess of a deeper character, but much smaller, by the side of the Norman doorway in the south corner of the west walk. Mr. Parker speaks of this as "a recess for an image"; it seems to me as if it may have had doors to close it. Can this have been a press or "*Armarium*"?

There are also traces of two Norman arched openings in the west wall of the north transept. As the inside wall has been recased, there are no indications of these in the interior of the Church, which might have shown what they had been. They are not of the same height, so cannot both have been windows; whilst, to my mind, they seem to be so near to the ground that they would give but little light into the Church, especially as they would be shaded by the north wall of the nave, if they *were* windows. The one nearest to the angle looks more like a very early door, with a rude tympanum. This seems a strange position for a door, especially if the door at the north-east of the Cloisters was then in existence; but the Rev. J. M. New informs me that at Jesus College, Cambridge (which occupies the site and some of the buildings of a Benedictine Nunnery), two doors are found occupying exactly the same relative

Agnus
(Diameter 19 inches)

Pelican
(Width 17 inches)

Initials of Thomas Marshall
(A.D. 1529)
(Diameter 22 inches)

Head of our Lord (?)
Probably representing "I am the Vine"
(Greatest diameter 22 inches)

Bosses in the North Walk of the Cloisters, Chester Cathedral
(See page 12)

1. *Pharmaceuticals* (1997) 10: 115-120.
 2. *Pharmaceuticals* (1998) 11: 115-120.
 3. *Pharmaceuticals* (1999) 12: 115-120.
 4. *Pharmaceuticals* (2000) 13: 115-120.
 5. *Pharmaceuticals* (2001) 14: 115-120.
 6. *Pharmaceuticals* (2002) 15: 115-120.
 7. *Pharmaceuticals* (2003) 16: 115-120.
 8. *Pharmaceuticals* (2004) 17: 115-120.
 9. *Pharmaceuticals* (2005) 18: 115-120.
 10. *Pharmaceuticals* (2006) 19: 115-120.
 11. *Pharmaceuticals* (2007) 20: 115-120.
 12. *Pharmaceuticals* (2008) 21: 115-120.
 13. *Pharmaceuticals* (2009) 22: 115-120.
 14. *Pharmaceuticals* (2010) 23: 115-120.
 15. *Pharmaceuticals* (2011) 24: 115-120.
 16. *Pharmaceuticals* (2012) 25: 115-120.
 17. *Pharmaceuticals* (2013) 26: 115-120.
 18. *Pharmaceuticals* (2014) 27: 115-120.
 19. *Pharmaceuticals* (2015) 28: 115-120.
 20. *Pharmaceuticals* (2016) 29: 115-120.
 21. *Pharmaceuticals* (2017) 30: 115-120.
 22. *Pharmaceuticals* (2018) 31: 115-120.
 23. *Pharmaceuticals* (2019) 32: 115-120.
 24. *Pharmaceuticals* (2020) 33: 115-120.
 25. *Pharmaceuticals* (2021) 34: 115-120.
 26. *Pharmaceuticals* (2022) 35: 115-120.
 27. *Pharmaceuticals* (2023) 36: 115-120.
 28. *Pharmaceuticals* (2024) 37: 115-120.
 29. *Pharmaceuticals* (2025) 38: 115-120.
 30. *Pharmaceuticals* (2026) 39: 115-120.
 31. *Pharmaceuticals* (2027) 40: 115-120.
 32. *Pharmaceuticals* (2028) 41: 115-120.
 33. *Pharmaceuticals* (2029) 42: 115-120.
 34. *Pharmaceuticals* (2030) 43: 115-120.
 35. *Pharmaceuticals* (2031) 44: 115-120.
 36. *Pharmaceuticals* (2032) 45: 115-120.
 37. *Pharmaceuticals* (2033) 46: 115-120.
 38. *Pharmaceuticals* (2034) 47: 115-120.
 39. *Pharmaceuticals* (2035) 48: 115-120.
 40. *Pharmaceuticals* (2036) 49: 115-120.
 41. *Pharmaceuticals* (2037) 50: 115-120.
 42. *Pharmaceuticals* (2038) 51: 115-120.
 43. *Pharmaceuticals* (2039) 52: 115-120.
 44. *Pharmaceuticals* (2040) 53: 115-120.
 45. *Pharmaceuticals* (2041) 54: 115-120.
 46. *Pharmaceuticals* (2042) 55: 115-120.
 47. *Pharmaceuticals* (2043) 56: 115-120.
 48. *Pharmaceuticals* (2044) 57: 115-120.
 49. *Pharmaceuticals* (2045) 58: 115-120.
 50. *Pharmaceuticals* (2046) 59: 115-120.
 51. *Pharmaceuticals* (2047) 60: 115-120.
 52. *Pharmaceuticals* (2048) 61: 115-120.
 53. *Pharmaceuticals* (2049) 62: 115-120.
 54. *Pharmaceuticals* (2050) 63: 115-120.
 55. *Pharmaceuticals* (2051) 64: 115-120.
 56. *Pharmaceuticals* (2052) 65: 115-120.
 57. *Pharmaceuticals* (2053) 66: 115-120.
 58. *Pharmaceuticals* (2054) 67: 115-120.
 59. *Pharmaceuticals* (2055) 68: 115-120.
 60. *Pharmaceuticals* (2056) 69: 115-120.
 61. *Pharmaceuticals* (2057) 70: 115-120.
 62. *Pharmaceuticals* (2058) 71: 115-120.
 63. *Pharmaceuticals* (2059) 72: 115-120.
 64. *Pharmaceuticals* (2060) 73: 115-120.
 65. *Pharmaceuticals* (2061) 74: 115-120.
 66. *Pharmaceuticals* (2062) 75: 115-120.
 67. *Pharmaceuticals* (2063) 76: 115-120.
 68. *Pharmaceuticals* (2064) 77: 115-120.
 69. *Pharmaceuticals* (2065) 78: 115-120.
 70. *Pharmaceuticals* (2066) 79: 115-120.
 71. *Pharmaceuticals* (2067) 80: 115-120.
 72. *Pharmaceuticals* (2068) 81: 115-120.
 73. *Pharmaceuticals* (2069) 82: 115-120.
 74. *Pharmaceuticals* (2070) 83: 115-120.
 75. *Pharmaceuticals* (2071) 84: 115-120.
 76. *Pharmaceuticals* (2072) 85: 115-120.
 77. *Pharmaceuticals* (2073) 86: 115-120.
 78. *Pharmaceuticals* (2074) 87: 115-120.
 79. *Pharmaceuticals* (2075) 88: 115-120.
 80. *Pharmaceuticals* (2076) 89: 115-120.
 81. *Pharmaceuticals* (2077) 90: 115-120.
 82. *Pharmaceuticals* (2078) 91: 115-120.
 83. *Pharmaceuticals* (2079) 92: 115-120.
 84. *Pharmaceuticals* (2080) 93: 115-120.
 85. *Pharmaceuticals* (2081) 94: 115-120.
 86. *Pharmaceuticals* (2082) 95: 115-120.
 87. *Pharmaceuticals* (2083) 96: 115-120.
 88. *Pharmaceuticals* (2084) 97: 115-120.
 89. *Pharmaceuticals* (2085) 98: 115-120.
 90. *Pharmaceuticals* (2086) 99: 115-120.
 91. *Pharmaceuticals* (2087) 100: 115-120.
 92. *Pharmaceuticals* (2088) 101: 115-120.
 93. *Pharmaceuticals* (2089) 102: 115-120.
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 95. *Pharmaceuticals* (2091) 104: 115-120.
 96. *Pharmaceuticals* (2092) 105: 115-120.
 97. *Pharmaceuticals* (2093) 106: 115-120.
 98. *Pharmaceuticals* (2094) 107: 115-120.
 99. *Pharmaceuticals* (2095) 108: 115-120.
 100. *Pharmaceuticals* (2096) 109: 115-120.
 101. *Pharmaceuticals* (2097) 110: 115-120.
 102. *Pharmaceuticals* (2098) 111: 115-120.
 103. *Pharmaceuticals* (2099) 112: 115-120.
 104. *Pharmaceuticals* (2100) 113: 115-120.
 105. *Pharmaceuticals* (2101) 114: 115-120.
 106. *Pharmaceuticals* (2102) 115: 115-120.
 107. *Pharmaceuticals* (2103) 116: 115-120.
 108. *Pharmaceuticals* (2104) 117: 115-120.
 109. *Pharmaceuticals* (2105) 118: 115-120.
 110. *Pharmaceuticals* (2106) 119: 115-120.

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positions, in the transept and nave of the Church. Can the other have been a recess for the reception of an "*armarium*"? The stones of the surmounting arch do not appear to have been splayed away, as would surely have been the case if it had been a window; whilst its position, so near the corner angle of the transept, would seem to make it unusual (to say the least) either for door or window.

If there were Cloisters in Norman times, they would doubtless have been of the same size as the present ones, where the southern and western boundaries are distinctly Norman; whilst there is "a Norman doorway, altered in the 13th Century by the addition of an outer arch and shafts in the Early English style," in the north walk; and the Norman north transept gives the line and direction of the eastern walk. "There are no Norman Cloisters in existence anywhere; but the monastic drawing of Christ Church, Canterbury, made about 1165, and reproduced by Willis, shows one."

As I have mentioned the subject of book-shelves, a quotation from Mr. Micklethwaite's notes on the Abbey Buildings of Westminster may be interesting. The remarks *may*, perhaps, be applicable to Chester, if we remember that here the Cloisters are on the opposite side of the Church, so that we shall have to alter *left* to *right*, and *north* to *south*. He says:—

"Entering the Cloister from the Church by the east Cloister door, we find on our left hand a very broad bench against the wall, extending as far as the entrance to the Chapter House. In the most northern bay, the wall arcade, instead of being brought down by shafts, as in the others, is stopped off at the springing by original brackets, as if to allow of some large piece of furniture being placed against the wall. Here, I believe, stood in the 13th Century, the *armarium commune* or common bookcase."

If this were so, can that old press, in what is now "The Canons' Vestry," with its interesting example of iron-work by Thomas de Leghbone, have ever occupied this position, and have been used for the keeping of books?¹

Turning now to the Cloisters as we find them to-day: though there doubtless were Cloisters at that period, I cannot point to any traces of Early English work; the tracery in the windows points to late Perpendicular times. But we have something which seems to fix the date, and to confirm or account for the tradition that the Cloisters were raised in height in the early days of the 16th Century. On a boss in the northern walk will be found the Arms of Cardinal Wolsey, as Archbishop of York, with his Cardinal's hat; whilst close by are the Royal Arms of Henry VII. We need not enter into the circumstances which led to Wolsey being directed by Pope Leo X. to adjudicate between the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and the Abbot of Chester; but the fact that this was the case will account for his Arms appearing here, and will also give us an approximate date. In 1530 came Wolsey's arrest and death. In the same year John Birchenshaw was restored as Abbot, after a six years' exile. In 1529 his place was filled, for a brief space, by Thomas Marshall; and on two bosses in the eastern portion of this north walk will be found the initials T.M., in one of them incorporated with his Arms. We shall thus be safe in assigning the Cloisters, in their present form, to the early years of the 16th Century. Other bosses give us the Tudor Rose, the Prince of Wales' Feathers, some of the Evangelistic Symbols; and they would all repay inspection, as showing a great variety in design.

¹ There is room for it here, even though the shaft of the wall-arcade is brought down to the level of the bench.

**The Arms of Cardinal Wolsey, on a Boss in the North Walk of the Cloisters,
Chester Cathedral**

Above will be observed the Cross-swords impaling the Cardinal's Hat; below the tassels; the cords between being entwined in the cusping. On the left are the Cross Keys, as the Arms of the See of York; on the right Wolsey's Arms, thus described in *Archæologia* Vol. xxv. p. 117: "Sable, on a cross engrailed Argent, a lion passant, Gules between four leopards' heads Azure; on a chief Or, a rose of the Second, between two Cornish choughs Proper."

(Greatest diameter 3 feet 1 inch;

(See page 12)

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Before proceeding further, we may draw attention to one or two general points. The walk, then, is not of the same breadth throughout; it is broadest at the entrance to the Chapter House; it is contracted at the north-east corner by the additional thickness given to the walls away from the enclosure, so as to carry the staircases to the Dormitory, and to the reader's pulpit in the Frater or Refectory. At this corner, too, the vaulting is more pointed, and the arches are less obtuse than elsewhere. Some have imagined that this portion of the Cloisters is of an earlier date than the rest, but the bosses which crown the groining do not seem to me to justify such an opinion, as they appear to be of the same Tudor character. The windows of the two northern bays of the eastern walk have a slight variation in their tracery from the others, but do not, to my mind, seem to betoken an earlier origin, as they are in a meagre Perpendicular style. A difficulty is occasioned in some minds by the height of the floor of the Refectory above the level of the Cloister walk. It is possible that the levels may be now different from what they were originally; but the difficulty may be removed by the consideration that in the plan of the monastery (taken from a survey made a short time after the Dissolution, and preserved in the Randle Holmes' Collection in the British Museum), there are represented, in the reduced copy given by Mr. Parker in his tractate, three steps of a semi-circular shape, leading down into the Cloister from the door of the Refectory.

One other general observation we may make. It is interesting to see how the builders of the Cloisters grafted their later vaulting on to earlier work, without destroying it, and yet without regard to symmetry and continuity. Thus, at the eastern door into the nave it

is attached to, and in fact cuts into, the Norman arch. At the south-west angle, the Norman doorway (which opened into a passage leading to the Abbot's house) is practically closed by a shaft which divides it into two parts, and which was necessary to carry the vaulting. Again, in the northern walk, the very beautiful arcading over the lavatory with its fine Early English mouldings, and in the eastern walk, the arcading at the entrance to the Chapter House, are singularly mixed up with the corbels and ribs and other details of the late vaulting.

Let us turn now to examine, in greater detail, two interesting features in our Cloisters—"the Carrels," or monks' studies, and the Lavatory. Before considering our own Carrels, I will read an extract from "The Rites of Durham," drawn up after the Reformation by a competent and well-informed person, as I find it in Mr. Clarke's volume, to which I have already referred:—

"In the north syde of the Cloister, from the corner over against the Church dour to the corner over against the Dorter dour, was all fynely glased from the hight to the sole within a litle of the grownd into the Cloister-garth. And in every wyndowe iij Pewes or Carrells, where every one of the old Monks had his Carrell, severall by himselfe, that when they had dyned, they did resort to that place of Cloister, and there studyed upon there books every one in his Carrell, all the after noune, unto evensong tyme. This was there exercise every daie All there pewes or Carrells was all fynely wainscotted and very close, all but the forepart, which had carved work that gave light in at ther Carrell doures of wainscott. And in every Carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And the Carrells was no greater than from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another And over against the Carrells against the Church Walle did stand great almeries (or cupbords) of waynscott all full of bookes, wherein did lye as well the old auncyent written Doctors of the Church, as other prophane authors with dyverse other holie mens wourks,

South Walk of the Cloisters, with Carrells, looking west,
Chester Cathedral

(See page 14)

South Walk of the Cloisters, with Carrells, looking east,
Gloucester Cathedral

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so that every one dyd studye what Doctor pleased them best, having the Librarie at all times to goe studye in besydes there Carrells."

This interesting and almost contemporary account of the use of these Carrells is so graphic and complete, that it is unnecessary to add to it.

If we examine into the evolution of these "Carrells" it would doubtless be of this nature. In early days each monk would have his appointed place for reading or for transcribing at one of the glazed windows of the Cloister. In process of time it seemed desirable that greater privacy should be given, and that the Cloister walk should be kept free, and not be encumbered by stools or desks or other furniture. And thus these recesses, which we call Carrells, were designed and had their origin.

At Chester there are eight on the south side and four on the west side of the Cloister, not counting the two smaller recesses at the south-west corner. Let me remark, in passing, that at this latter point the vaulting and arcading is singularly picturesque, and worthy of closer inspection. As you are aware, the southern walk of the Cloisters was rebuilt by Sir Gilbert Scott, when it was necessary to provide mechanical support for the vaulting of the north aisle of the Nave, which was given by the late Mr. Platt. But this rebuilding is absolutely faithful and correct, for a guide had been left, not only in the Carrells on the western side, but also in three bases of the vaulting shafts, which were *in situ*, and in the eastern and western extremities of the Cloisters. These recesses are practically about 7ft. 6in. wide by 3ft. 6in. deep, and, though there is no trace of any wooden or other division, it is probable that two monks would occupy each of these as we now see them. This

would give less space than at Gloucester (where each Carrell is 4ft. wide, and was evidently for one person only), but more space than at Durham, where the Carrells could not have been more than 2ft. 9in. wide, and the occupant would have found but little room to spare. There would thus be room for 24 monks to study at one time. The Precentor (who was Armarius or Librarian) and his subordinate the Succentor, would have their appointed places near, so that they might always be at hand to satisfy brethren, who might want any book, or to ask them any question.

With regard to our "Carrells": in 1886 I remember hearing Precentor Venables say that they were not extended further on the western side, so that they might be more under the shadow of the Church. Such an opinion, however, can hardly be correct, for in at least four Abbeys out of five the Carrells are on the north walk, facing the sun. The extension here along the western side is probably due to the fact that there was not room enough on the south. It is, perhaps, open to discussion whether the Carrells were an addition here to the Cloisters as they originally were designed. At the south-east corner the tracery of the window into the Garth has evidently been complete, though half of it is now covered by the end of the Carrells, which are built up against it. At Gloucester, where the beautiful Cloisters with their exquisite fan-groining are more lofty, the Carrells do not reach to the top of the window, as here, but are vaulted recesses 6ft. 9in. high, built inside the line of the windows, and lighted by the lower portion thereof.

Turning now to the Lavatory: its position is of course clearly defined here. At Gloucester it is a projection from the western part of the north-west walk,

Lavatory - North Walk of Cloisters, Chester Cathedral

(See page 16)

South-east corner of Cloisters, Chester Cathedral



opposite the Frater door, and is lighted by windows into the Cloister-garth. It is often in a similar position, but here it is in the Frater-wall itself, and is surmounted by that interesting arcading to which reference has already been made, and which may be taken as a proof that there were Cloisters of an Early English character. But though its position is clear, its form has been destroyed, probably when the passage was cut through the Frater or Refectory. The trough, therefore, has vanished, though we may suppose that such an arrangement as is preserved at Gloucester existed here. The present top course of masonry, and, possibly, much beneath it, is modern, so that we have little to guide us as to the height of the washing-place from the floor of the Cloister. It is, perhaps, curious that the windows opposite to the Lavatory should all have been shortened, and the wall-space beneath them correspondingly heightened.¹ With regard to the water-supply for this and other purposes, the following extract from Ormerod's History is of interest :—

“Among the donations by the family of Burnel, in the time of Henry III., was the grant of a foundation at Christleton, which was doubtless of high importance. A cistern, twenty feet square, was made at Christleton, and another formed within the Cloisters, and a communication established by pipes, which a patent from Edward I. enabled the monks to carry through all intervening lands, permitting even the City Walls to be taken down for the purpose.”

If some surprise be felt at the exposed position of these arrangements for ablutions, it must be borne in mind that when the Cloisters were glazed they would be fairly well protected from weather. Former generations, too, were more hardy than the present. I believe that boys, on the foundation at Eton and Winchester

¹ Was this intended as a slight protection to the Lavatory?

in the early part of the nineteenth Century, had to find their way to a pump in the open air for their morning wash !

A few words as to the Cloister-garth. The fact that the late Dean Howson found an honoured resting place there, under the shadow of the Cathedral which he loved so well, and for which he did so much, might lead people to suppose that it was intended for burials. This was not the case. Mr. St. John Hope writes :—

“The Garth or enclosure which formed the Cloister (*claustrum*) was not used as a cemetery among the Monastic Orders, save, perhaps, in the case of the monks of the Charterhouse, but was either a grass-plot or a garden.”

Mr. Cranage also writes to the same effect :—

“I do not think the Cloister-*garth* was ever used for burials, except in the huge enclosure of the Carthusians. Of course, the east *walk* often had tombs.”

In the plan in the British Museum, to which reference has been already made, the Garth is designated “Sprise-garden”; to this has been added the explanation : “[A corruption of Paradise or Churchyard].” On this Mr. Hope remarks :—

“I have never been able to see how Paradise could become Sprise-garden, and have always thought it an invention of my good old friend Mr. Mackenzie Walcott, who, unfortunately, was an imaginative person, and did not always give his authorities.”

“Sprice” is often found in old wills as a corruption of “Spruce” or “Cypress,” and it is far more likely that the term is derived from one of the many shrubs or plants known as Cypress or Cipers, which were grown in the middle ages. In the famous Norman drawing of the monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, part of the infirmary Cloister is partitioned off by lattice-work, and lettered “*Herbarium*.”

How was this garden entered from the Cloister-walk? In the plan to which I have referred, an entrance is shown at the west angle of the north walk. This would be a natural place for it, being just opposite the door by which the walk would be entered from the Abbey Court, and also close to the Frater door. The construction of this bay is also different from those which adjoin it, and would, perhaps, lead to the same conclusion. But the opening into the Garth has been filled with tracery and glazed. It is possible that this may have been done subsequently, or that means of entering the Garth may have been provided by a casement. Sir Gilbert Scott, when he rebuilt the southern Cloister, made an entrance for convenience sake on that side; and one may have existed there, though it is hardly likely that the arrangement of the Carrells would have been disturbed in such a manner. Even if the garden in monastic times was ornamental and not useful, an entrance would be necessary; and I should incline to think that the plan points to its position.



Ludlow and the Masque of Comus¹

BY JOSEPH C. BRIDGE, M.A., Mus. Doc. (Oxon.)

(Read 21st January, 1902)

FROM every point of view Ludlow is beautiful and picturesque, and is well-described by Thomas Churchyard, the Salopian soldier and poet of the 16th Century:—

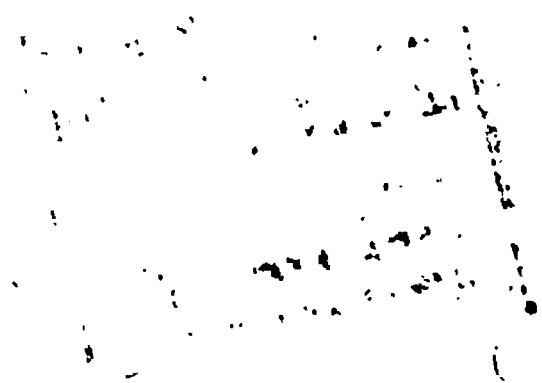
“The towne doth stand most part upon a hill,
Built well and fayre, with streetes both longe & wide;
The houses such, where strangers lodge at will,
As long as there the counsell lists abide.
Both fine & cleane the streetes are all throughout,
With condits cleare & wholesome water springs;
And who that lists to walk the towne about
Shall find therein some rare & pleasant things;
But chiefly there the ayre so sweet you have
As in no place ye can no better crave.”

Ludlow, no doubt, was a flourishing town in the 12th and 13th Centuries; but it owes its celebrity, almost entirely, to the fact that it was the central position for offence and defence on the Welsh Marches. There are one or two curious customs connected with the place, one of which was only given up a few years ago; I

¹ It has been thought well to reproduce, almost *in extenso*, this popular Lecture, which was delivered to a mixed audience, and illustrated by Lantern Slides and the Music from the “Masque of Comus,” the latter being sung by members of the Cathedral Choir.

Directors, from the Choir Stalls of St. Lawrence, Inbrow

From Photo by W. Marriott Jackson



mean the tug-of-war between the different wards of the town. A rope was provided by the Corporation three inches thick and thirty-six yards long, which was delivered over in solemn manner by the Mayor to the people. They tugged in wards; two wards against other two wards. This led to a great deal of danger and rowdyism, and so was finally abolished.

Ludlow is celebrated now, first of all for its Church. There was a Church there (no doubt of the time of Edward the Confessor), pulled down in 1199, as too small for the necessities of the place. In size it probably equalled that of the present nave; in extending the Church, the builders came across a tumulus or "low," a sepulchral mound, from whence the town derived its name. This "low" or mound had to be taken away in order to extend the Church. Some say the mound was Saxon, or even Roman; at any rate, after clearing away the mound some bones were found, of which the clergy made an ingenious use. They deposited some of them in the Church, and gave out that they were the bones of Irish saints: the father, mother, and brother of one of the many St. Brendans; so that if the mound were Roman, we have the curious position of the bones of Roman legionaries being accepted as those of Irish saints. Why they chose to call them Irish saints I know not, unless it was that they thought the remains would not be recognized. The main bulk of the present walls probably belongs to that Early English Church; but the windows, doorways, &c., have been altered, and have given way to the later Decorated and Perpendicular styles.

Going inside the Church, we see that it has a lantern tower. Coming to the east end we find a fine reredos, with a number of interesting carved figures, very few of

which are original. The Church was collegiate, with a staff of a warden, seven priests, four singing-men, two deacons, and six choristers, thirty-two alms people, and a master for the grammar school. Being collegiate, there are stalls for the priests; and, as at Chester, the misereres are of a humorous character. One depicting a monk in a cellar exhibits a good deal of subtle humour; the monk has gone to the cellar to draw wine in the dark, and he is listening to the sound within the flagon, so that he can tell if it is full; but you will note that he has gone to a very small barrel to fill a very large flagon. In another, the monk is warming his toes at the fire, and looks very comfortable, with a fitch of bacon on his one side, and a simmering pot on the other. Another deserves notice as a very early example of the use of the Prince of Wales' feathers. You know that the Black Prince was supposed to have taken them at the Battle of Crecy in 1346; that, of course, is very much discounted now, but has scarcely been disputed. There is no doubt the Prince was very proud of them. Had they been given to him in the ordinary course, he would have been no prouder of them than of any ordinary feathers; but he was extremely proud of these, for in his Will (A.D. 1376) he speaks of "our badges of ostrich feathers" ("nos bages des plumes d'ostreece"). In Harl. MS., in the British Museum, it is recorded that "the white ostrich feather, with its pen golden, is the King's; the feather entirely white or silver, is the Prince's; the feather golden, with its pen ermine, is the Duke of Lancaster's; and the feather white, having its pen company, is the Duke of Somerset's." The crest of the King of Bohemia is said not to have been these feathers, but an eagle's feather. By a strange coincidence, an upright plume (or panache as it is called), formed of a

Adware, from the Choir Stalls of St. Lawrence, Ludlow

From Photo by W. N. N. N. N. N.

1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)
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 3. *Chlorophyll c* (Chl *c*)
 4. *Chlorophyll d* (Chl *d*)
 5. *Chlorophyll e* (Chl *e*)
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 23. *Chlorophyll w* (Chl *w*)
 24. *Chlorophyll x* (Chl *x*)
 25. *Chlorophyll y* (Chl *y*)
 26. *Chlorophyll z* (Chl *z*)
 27. *Chlorophyll aa* (Chl *aa*)
 28. *Chlorophyll ab* (Chl *ab*)
 29. *Chlorophyll ac* (Chl *ac*)
 30. *Chlorophyll ad* (Chl *ad*)
 31. *Chlorophyll ae* (Chl *ae*)
 32. *Chlorophyll af* (Chl *af*)
 33. *Chlorophyll ag* (Chl *ag*)
 34. *Chlorophyll ah* (Chl *ah*)
 35. *Chlorophyll ai* (Chl *ai*)
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 37. *Chlorophyll ak* (Chl *ak*)
 38. *Chlorophyll al* (Chl *al*)
 39. *Chlorophyll am* (Chl *am*)
 40. *Chlorophyll an* (Chl *an*)
 41. *Chlorophyll ao* (Chl *ao*)
 42. *Chlorophyll ap* (Chl *ap*)
 43. *Chlorophyll aq* (Chl *aq*)
 44. *Chlorophyll ar* (Chl *ar*)
 45. *Chlorophyll as* (Chl *as*)
 46. *Chlorophyll at* (Chl *at*)
 47. *Chlorophyll au* (Chl *au*)
 48. *Chlorophyll av* (Chl *av*)
 49. *Chlorophyll aw* (Chl *aw*)
 50. *Chlorophyll ax* (Chl *ax*)
 51. *Chlorophyll ay* (Chl *ay*)
 52. *Chlorophyll az* (Chl *az*)
 53. *Chlorophyll aza* (Chl *aza*)
 54. *Chlorophyll abz* (Chl *abz*)
 55. *Chlorophyll acz* (Chl *acz*)
 56. *Chlorophyll adz* (Chl *adz*)
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 68. *Chlorophyll apz* (Chl *apz*)
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 78. *Chlorophyll ayz* (Chl *ayz*)
 79. *Chlorophyll azz* (Chl *azz*)
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 82. *Chlorophyll acz* (Chl *acz*)
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 89. *Chlorophyll ajz* (Chl *ajz*)
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 92. *Chlorophyll amz* (Chl *amz*)
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 105. *Chlorophyll ayz* (Chl *ayz*)
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 117. *Chlorophyll akz* (Chl *akz*)
 118. *Chlorophyll alz* (Chl *alz*)
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 120. *Chlorophyll anz* (Chl *anz*)
 121. *Chlorophyll aoz* (Chl *aoz*)
 122. *Chlorophyll apz* (Chl *apz*)
 123. *Chlorophyll aqz* (Chl *aqz*)
 124. *Chlorophyll arz* (Chl *arz*)
 125. *Chlorophyll asz* (Chl *asz*)
 126. *Chlorophyll atz* (Chl *atz*)
 127. *Chlorophyll auz* (Chl *auz*)
 128. *Chlorophyll avz* (Chl *avz*)
 129. *Chlorophyll awz* (Chl *awz*)
 130. *Chlorophyll axz* (Chl *axz*)
 131. *Chlorophyll ayz* (Chl *ayz*)
 132. *Chlorophyll ayz* (Chl *ayz*)
 133.

large number of feathers (generally the feathers of a cock or swan), is the crest of the De Mortimers, who loom so largely in the history of Ludlow.

Another miserere depicts the false ale-wife as she is being carried away by fiends: one is carrying a bagpipe, another is reading out to her a list of her bad ways, and finally she is pulled into hell's mouth on the other side. This has a peculiar interest for us here, for you will find in the Chester Miracle Play we have exactly this case in the "Harrowing of Hell":—

"Some tyme I was a tavernere
A gentill gossipe and a taptere
Of wyne and ale a trustie brewer,
Which wo hath me wroughte:
Of cannes I kepte no trewe measuer,
My cuppes I souldde at my pleasure
Deceaving manye a creature,
Tho my ale were naughte."

She had adulterated her ale and brewed thin beer, offences of too grave a nature to permit any pardon; and, in consequence, she is left to the tender mercies of the devil, who exclaims:—

"Welckome! dere ladye, I shall thee wedd,
For many a heavye and druncken head,
Cause of thy ale were brought to bed,
Farre worse than anye beaste!"

There is a Chapel on the north-east of Ludlow called St. John's Chapel, in which is the tomb of Sir John Bridgeman, Chief Justice of Cheshire and President of the Marches. He seems to have been a rather unpopular person, if one may judge from the poet's tribute (which, however, is not engraved on his tomb):—

"Here lies Sir John Brydgeman, all clad in his clay;
God said to the Devil, 'Sirrah, take him away.'"

The most interesting feature of this Chapel is the east window, representing the legend of Edward the Con-

fessor and the Ring. The legend, which is given rudely but tersely on the screen of his tomb in Westminster Abbey, is as follows :—Edward the Confessor was going to Westminster Abbey, and on the road he met a very old man who besought alms of him. The King's Treasurer was not at hand, and the King had no money with him, but he pitied the poor old man, so much so that he took a very valuable ring off his finger and gave it to him, and the beggar then went on his way. Some years after, two pilgrims from Ludlow were benighted in Syria on their way to Palestine, and while they were dreading the prospect of passing the night in the desert an old man appeared to them, took them to a hostelry, and gave them food and lodging for the night. Next morning he started them on their way, but before he departed he told them he was Saint John the Evangelist. He gave them a ring, saying that he had received it from Edward the Confessor, and that, therefore, he had defended the travellers on account of his love for the King. He bade them carry this ring back to him, and say that in six months he would be with him in Paradise. They carried the ring back to the King, whom they found in his palace in Essex, and delivered to him the warning. He recognised the ring, prepared for his end accordingly, and so died in six months. That is represented in the east window of this Chapel.

I wish now to say a word or two about the palmers, of whom you will find one or two representations here. Of these, one represents a palmer, or English pilgrim, with the usual staff, of which you can see the head. Sometimes, though very rarely, there was a cross at the top of the staff, but usually the staff is as you see it here. A carving of a palmer or pilgrim still exists in

Chester Cathedral. There was formerly a pilgrim's staff in his hand, but the Americans took it so often from him, under the impression that it was the original one, that a stick had to be fastened in the hand. I must, however, appeal to the Dean to give the pilgrim a real palmer's staff. Palmers and pilgrims are sometimes passed over with a smile of contempt, but they are not without interest. It was no light journey that they were wont to undertake, and they bore a great many discomforts. If you had been a palmer in the 14th Century, and you wanted to go away as a pilgrim, you would require a passport; then you would tell the guild to which you belonged that you were going; and guilds, let me remark here, were always in favour of pilgrimages. Take, for instance, the Guild of the Resurrection at Lincoln: "If any brother or sister wishes to make pilgrimage to Rome, St. James of Galicia, or the Holy Land, he shall forewarn the Gild, and all the bretheren and sisteren shall go with him to the city gate, and each shall give him a half-penny at least." So the palmers first of all made a collection, and then started. They would have no difficulty in going across England, for they would find monasteries and hospices ready to give them food and shelter until they arrived at the port of embarkation. But any port would not do; it must be licensed to embark pilgrims, and so must the ship that carried them. Very heavy penalties were laid on all wardens of ports, captains of ships, &c., who were neglectful, or too favourable to the roamers. The pilgrim had also to take an oath not to reveal secrets; and he was not allowed to take any money out of the kingdom beyond what was necessary for the journey. So you see it was a very hard matter to make a start. The discomforts of the voyage may be read in a very

amusing poem published by the Early English Text Society, 1867, entitled: "The Stacions of Rome and the Pilgrim's Sea Voyage." It has reference to a pilgrimage to Compostella in the 15th Century.

Then came the return of the pilgrim. When he got near his home, he sent word on to say he was coming, and it was the custom for the guilds to meet him and welcome him home; and there is an interesting panel in Ludlow Church which shews two of these pilgrims being met by the Mayor, in his red gown, at the town gate. Now, there was at Ludlow a guild of palmers; at various places there have existed guilds of merchants (as there did at Chester), but this is the only case I know of where there was a guild of palmers. It was incorporated in 1284, under Edward I., but it may have existed previously as an association; and I should not be surprised if the holy palmers had an eye to trade when on their pilgrimages. Whether it existed so far back as Edward the Confessor is doubtful. This guild held very considerable property, and it provided for the religious services of the Church and for the Grammar School. From certain deeds it seems likely that the school existed when the guild was incorporated, and if so, Ludlow can boast of the oldest Grammar School in the kingdom. As in the case of Coventry and elsewhere, this guild founded a hospice for travellers who were going to St. Winifred's Well, the hospice being called the Barnaby House. A pretty little legend is told about it, which I will read you from "Shropshire Folk-lore":—

"Once upon a time an old palmer journeying thither (*i.e.*, to St. Winifred's Well), was stayed some days at the Barnaby House by sickness, and the little maid of the house waited on him. Now this little maid had very sore eyes; and when he got well and was about to go on his way, he asked of her what

he should do for her ; ' Oh, master,' said she, ' that my eyes might be healed.' Then he bade her come with him, and led her outside the town, till they stood beside the Boiling Well ; and the old man blessed the well, and bade it have power to heal all manner of wounds and sores, to be a boon and blessing to Ludlow as long as the sun shines and water runs. Then he went on his way, and the little maid saw him no more ; but she washed her eyes with the water, and they were healed, and she went home joyfully."

The south transept of the Church belonged to the Cordwainers and other companies, and the north transept to the Fletchers or Arrow-head Makers, which is marked externally by an iron arrow, said by tradition to have been the last fired by Robin Hood.

There is some very fine carving in the old timbered fronts of such places as the Old Bell Inn, Ludford, on the other side of the old ford over the river ; it is a most picturesque house. Then there is the Feathers Hotel, Ludlow, originally believed to have been the residence of some high officials connected with the Castle. Inside, the ceilings are very fine and well worth inspecting ; I am glad to say it has fallen into good hands. It has been taken by a company in Shrewsbury, and furnished inside in very good taste ; you can go there and find it a most interesting and comfortable place to be in, while you are not offended by too much of twentieth century innovation.

The Castle of Ludlow is the finest of the thirty-two which guarded the Welsh border, and of the fifty or sixty in Shropshire. As we enter the grounds we come to the gateway, the little room over the top of which is said to have been that which Samuel Butler, the author of " Hudibras," occupied, when he was steward of the Castle. For my own part, I do not believe that, for it is far too small a room for the steward of the Castle,

who was a very important person in those days. Briefly put, the history of the Castle, archæologically, divides itself into three periods. First, we have the Norman work, which seems to have been built by Roger de Lacy, soon after the Conquest. De Lacy rebelled, and his estates were escheated to the Crown ; and in 1136, King Stephen gave Ludlow to Sir Joce or Joyce de Dinant, a Fleming, "a strong and valiant knight," who added the beautiful circular Chapel, about 1150. Of course, the very busy Norman building time was from 1125 to 1175, and this circular Church, which was built about 1150, is one of the few instances of the round Church in England. There are only four or five in all, and this is certainly a feature of Ludlow Castle. The doorway is highly ornamented and deeply recessed, shewing that it is late Norman. The interior was all filled with beautiful oak panelling, which is now in the Bull Hotel, at Ludlow. It has been highly spoken of, but it is somewhat disappointing when you see it. The old poet, Churchyard, says of the Chapel :—

" In it besides (the works are here unnamed)
 A chappell is, most trim and costly sure,
 So bravely wrought, so fayre and finely framed
 That to world's end the beautie may endure.
 About the same are armes in colours sitch
 As few can shewe in any soyle or place ;
 A great device, a work most rare and ritch,
 Which truly shewes the armes of blood and race
 Of sundrie kings, but chiefly noblemen
 That here in prose I will set out with pen."

We now come to the second period. After the Norman work we have portions built by Roger de Mortimer about 1300 ; he was executed in 1330. The hall and state-rooms are fine specimens of decorated work. One room is supposed to have been Prince

Musicant, from the Choir Stalls of St. Lawrence, Indlow

From Photo by W. Merritt Nelson

Arthur's chamber, a picturesque corner; and another is the main hall (Comus Hall) where the "Masque of Comus" was performed.

Then we come to another period. After Richard de Mortimer, there were further additions and repairs by Sir Henry Sidney (father of Sir Philip Sidney), Warden of the Marches, who died in 1586. We know from Churchyard what he added:—

"Now is to be rehearsed that Sir Harry Sidney, being Lord President, built 12 roomes in the sayd castle, which goodly buildings both shewe a great beautie to the same. He made also a goodly Wardrope underneath the new Parlor, and repayred an old tower called Mortimer's Tower, to keep ancient records in the same; and he repayred a fayre room under the Court house to the same intent and purpose, and made a great wall about the woodyard, and built a most brave conduit within the inner court; and all the new buildings over the gate Sir Harry Sidney (in his dayes and government there) made and set out to the honour of the Queene and glory of the Castle."

Sir Henry Sidney, so it is said, was rather disappointed because he did not get the money for these repairs out of the Government, and he gave vent to his annoyance in the inscription which he placed on the gateway, which begins thus: *Hominibus ingratis loquimini lapides*. Sir Henry Sidney seems to have been a very firm but discreet governor; and it speaks well for him that he held office for twenty-seven years under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. When he died, his body was buried at Penshurst, but his heart at Ludlow. The urn containing it was stolen at some unknown period, and was in the hands of some people at Leominster. A photograph of it, which I have in my possession, is taken from the "Gentleman's Magazine" of 1794. I believe there may have been some additions made to

the Castle in Queen Anne's time, but it was dismantled in the reign of George I., and allowed to go to ruin.

Stephen besieged the Castle in 1139, and one of the inmates, throwing out a hook at the end of a rope, caught a big fish in the person of Stephen's hostage, Prince Henry of Scotland, who had incautiously ridden near the walls. Stephen behaved with great courage and managed to rescue Prince Henry. Here, in this Castle, were the two little Princes, sons of Edward IV., when the news came that their father was dead. They were rushed off to London, and within a few weeks lay dead in the Tower of London. Here lived Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII. It was the cherished wish of his father that he should revive the legendary glories of the famous British King after whom he had been named. At the age of fifteen he was married, and the honeymoon was spent with great splendour at Ludlow; but within four months the Prince lay dead in the Castle, and his father's hopes lay shattered. He was buried at Worcester; but there is a tradition that his heart was interred in Ludlow in a leaden coffin or casket, and that at one time the casket was dug up by a sexton and sold to a plumber, but repurchased by the then Rector, and buried again unopened. All honour to the Rector!

We now come to the "Masque of Comus," which was performed at this Castle. In 1631 the Earl of Bridgewater was made President of the Council of Wales and Lord Lieutenant of the Counties on the Welsh border, an office which gave him full military and civil jurisdiction in the district named. He did not, however, go to Wales until 1633, and the festivities which were held at Ludlow to celebrate, formally, his entry on these

duties, did not take place until the autumn of 1634. This nobleman was created Earl of Bridgewater in 1617 in return for the services of his father (who had been Lord Chancellor), Sir Thomas Egerton. This father, Sir Thomas Egerton, was a natural son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, a branch now represented by Sir Philip Egerton; so that the Earl of Bridgewater, who listened to "Comus," was a grandson of a Cheshire man. It was during the festivities in 1634, which I have mentioned, that the performance of the "Masque of Comus" took place.

The Music Master of the Earl's establishment was a distinguished English musician, Henry Lawes, and to him was entrusted the preparation of a Masque. Henry Lawes was born in 1595, the son of a vicar-choral of Salisbury Cathedral, and he had studied music under John Cooper (or Giovanni Coperario, as he thought fit to italianize his name, as others have done since). Coperario was one of Charles I.'s musicians, and was well-versed in the Masque and music suitable to it. Lawes was an apt pupil, and we find him engaged in two Masques in 1633. He was, therefore, fully qualified to undertake the duties thrust upon him at Ludlow in 1634.

But, the question may be asked, what is a Masque? It was a theatrical entertainment in vogue for about 150 years—from 1500 to 1650. We, in Chester, ought to take an interest in it, because it was but a step from the old Miracle Play to the pageant such as was known also in Chester; and even a shorter step from the pageant in the street to the pageant on the stage; for the Masque involved little dramatic power; and, in one case, a portion of a Masque was taken as a pageant

through the streets of London. Ability to dance well was more needful than declamation, and costly dresses and gorgeous scenery did the rest. As Ben Jonson sarcastically says in his quarrel with Inigo Jones: "Painting and carpentry are the soul of Masque." It was insecurely founded on fashion, and when the fashionable people gave it up, the Masque died a natural death, and was succeeded by the opera.

So far as we know, there was but slight connection between Milton and Lord Bridgewater or Ludlow, and his share in the Masque seems to have been undertaken to oblige his friend, Henry Lawes, whose music he greatly admired. Milton's father was a good musician, and several of his compositions are extant; and Milton himself was versed in music, and could play the organ; and it is greatly to his credit that he so clearly perceived the merits of Lawes as a musician, for Lawes' style was out of the common. It was not cut and dried "four in a bar" music, but more "aria parlante." It was a deliberate rendering according to the sense of the words, and this Milton himself beautifully expresses in the sonnet which he wrote to Henry Lawes:—

" Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured song
First taught our English music how to span
Words with just note and accent."

And again:—

" To after age thou shalt be writ the man
That with smooth air could'st humour best our tongue.
Thou honour'st Verse, and Verse must lend her wing
To honour thee, the priest of Phœbus' quire."

It was, in fact, musical declamation of the best and highest kind, in which neither words nor music was sacrificed the one to the other. Lawes has had scant justice

done to him : Burney called his music "Langnid and insipid, and equally devoid of learning and genius"; and Hawkins said his music was "neither recitative nor air, but in so precise a medium between both that a name is wanting for it." I could quote many musicians who have great faults to find with Lawes' music; but this declamation was Lawes' strong point. His music recognised the rights of prosody, and it was his endeavour to set words with "just note and accent," as Milton says. But I think that we in the twentieth century can now do justice to the music, although we must not forget that Milton, Herrick, and Waller, amongst the poets of the time, were quick to recognise Lawes' claims to superiority.

Now let us turn to the plot of "Comus." There is a tradition that the Earl of Bridgewater's children (Lady Alice Egerton and her brothers), in travelling to Ludlow Castle from Hereford, lost their way, and were benighted in the woods not far from Ludlow. If this were so, Lawes, as a resident in the Castle, would be sure to know of it, and his relation of the episode would give Milton the foundation of the Masque; but it is right to state that some critics consider the tale arose out of the Masque. Anybody who has been over those woods can well imagine children being benighted in such a place.

The characters in "Comus" are six. The Attendant Spirit, or Thyrsis, was acted by Lawes himself; the Lady was played by Lady Alice Egerton; and the parts of First Brother and Second Brother were acted by her brothers, the Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton. The remaining parts of Comus and Sabrina (the Nymph) were doubtless filled by friends whose names are lost

to us. The first scene discovers a wild wood; the Attendant Spirit descends or enters :—

“ Before the starry threshold of Jove’s court
 My mansion is, where those immortal shapes
 Of bright aerial spirits live insphered
 In regions mild of calm and serene air,
 Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,
 Which men call Earth; and, with low-thoughted care,
 Confined and pester’d in this pinfold here,
 Strive to keep up a frail and feverish being,
 Unmindful of the crown that Virtue gives,
 After this mortal change, to her true servants,
 Amongst the enthroned gods on sainted seats.”

That, so far, is Milton’s prologue. But Lawes, who had large experience in this work, thought it better to begin with the Attendant Spirit singing the introduction, and he made another prologue out of a portion of the epilogue, by the mere alteration of a few words. This we know from the prompter’s book preserved at Cambridge. In the epilogue he had to speak the lines :—

“ To the ocean now I fly
 And those happy climes that lie
 Where day never shuts his eye.”

By substituting the words “ From Heaven now I fly” for “ To the ocean now I fly,” Lawes made his prologue.

Then the Spirit tells us how Comus, the son of Bacchus and Circe, lived in this wood—

“ And, in thick shelter of black shades imbower’d,
 Excels his mother at her mighty art,
 Offering, to every weary traveller,
 His orient liquor in a crystal glass
 To quench the drouth of Phœbus; which as they taste,
 (For most do taste, through fond intemperate thirst),
 Soon as the potion works, their human countenance,
 is changed
 Into some brutish form of wolf or bear,

 All other parts remaining as they were.”

(You will see, therefore, that the "rout of monsters" which accompanied Comus are the victims of his magic). Then adds the Spirit :—

" when any, favour'd of high Jove,
Chances to pass through this adventurous glade,
Swift as the sparkle of a glancing star
I shoot from heaven, to give him safe convoy,
As now I do : but first I must put off
These my sky-robcs, spun out of Iris's woof,
And take the weeds and likeness of a swain
That to the service of this house belongs."

He disguises himself like a shepherd belonging to the Castle. Then, hearing Comus approaching, he adds :—

" But I hear the tread
Of hateful steps ; I must be viewless now."

Comus enters, and invites his followers to—

" Midnight shout and revelry,
Tipsy dance and jollity.
.
Come, knit hands, and beat the ground
In a light fantastic round."

The measure or dance then takes place. Then Comus says :—

" Break off ! break off ! I feel the different pace
Of some chaste footing near about this ground.
.
. Some virgin sure
.
Benighted in these woods. Now to my charms.
.
I shall appear some harmless villager.
.
But here she comes ; I fairly step aside,
And hearken, if I may her business hear."

The Lady enters, having heard the noise made by the revellers. She describes how she and her brothers had lost their way "in the blind mazes of this tangled

wood," and that they, seeing she was thoroughly exhausted, had—

"Stepp'd, as they said, to the next thicket-side,
To bring me berries, or such cooling fruit
As the kind hospitable woods provide."

Then, after declaring her belief

"That He, the Supreme Good, to whom all things ill
Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
Would send a glistering guardian, if need were,"

to protect her; she laments that she "cannot halloo to her brothers," but

"Such noise as I can make to be heard farthest
I'll venture."

Then she sings the song "Sweet Echo":—

"Sweet Echo, sweetest nymph, that livest unseen
Within thy airy shell,
By slow Meander's margent green,
And in the violet-embroider'd vale
Where the love-lorn nightingale
Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well:
Canst thou not tell me of a gentle pair
That likest thy Narcissus are?
O, if thou have
Hid them in some flowery cave,
Tell me but where,
Sweet Queen of Parley, Daughter of the Sphere!
So mayest thou be translated to the skies,
And give resounding grace to all Heaven's harmonies."

Now I must turn aside for one moment. There is an old tradition in Shropshire, that if a child suffering from whooping-cough be taken to Ludlow Castle to "waken the echo" with the words "Echo, please take away my cough," it will be cured! Whether this has any connection with the Masque of "Comus" I do not know; but Miss Jackson, in Shropshire "Folk-lore," says that echo is similarly invoked at Haddon Hall. But the

“Echo” song in Comus seems to suggest that there may have been a celebrated echo in the Castle before the Masque was written, and that this suggested to Henry Lawes the idea of an “Echo” song. But to return to the plot. Comus enters as a shepherd, and persuades the Lady to go with him to a cottage where she may be safe; she saying—

“Shepherd, I take thy word,
And trust thy honest-offer'd courtesy,
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds,
With smoky rafters, than in tapestry halls
And courts of princes.”

When she and Comus have left the scene, the two brothers enter, and bewail at much length their missing sister. The elder finally philosophizes, and declares his belief that their sister, as a chaste and virtuous maiden, is bound to receive special protection from on high, and—

“So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity,
That, when a soul is found sincerely so,
A thousand liveried angels lackey her,
Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt.”

The Attendant Spirit now comes on the scene again in the guise of their father's shepherd Thyrsis, and the brothers recognise him with delight. He tells them he had seen the Lady in the power of Comus and had at once sought the brothers. They are eager to proceed to the rescue, but Thyrsis points out that Comus, “with his bare wand,” can “unthread their joints and crumble all their sinews.” In response to a query how *he* had dared to approach so near as to see Comus and his crew, Thyrsis replies that a shepherd once showed him a certain herb called hœmony, and bade him keep it—

“As of sovran use
'Gainst all enchantments, mildew, blast, or damp.

If you have this about you . . . you may
 Boldly assault the necromancer's hall."

He produces it from his scrip and they all three proceed to the enchanted Palace.

The scene changes to "a stately palace, set out with all manner of deliciousness: soft music, and tables spread with all dainties. Comus appears with his rabble, and the Lady set in an enchanted chair, to whom he offers his glass, which she puts by, and goes about to rise." Comus says:—

"Nay, Lady, sit: if I but wave this wand,
 Your nerves are all chain'd up in alabaster,
 And you a statue."

The Lady replies:—

"Fool, do not boast:
 Thou canst not touch the freedom of my mind
 With all thy charms";

And then proceeds to disdainfully shew him how utterly incapable he is of understanding what is mighty, and noble, and chaste, and temperate. A good deal of the play at this point was not performed at the Masque at Ludlow, but was added by Milton afterwards. While they have this dialogue, "the brothers rush in with swords drawn, wrest his glass out of his hand, and break it against the ground. His rout make sign of resistance, but are all driven in. The Attendant Spirit comes in":—

"What! have you let the false enchanter 'scape?
 O, ye mistook, ye should have snatched his wand,
 And bound him fast.

.
 Yet stay, be not disturbed; now I bethink me,
 Some other means I have which may be used,
 Which once of Melibœus old I learnt,
 The soothest shepherd that e'er piped on plains."

He then remembers :

“ There is a gentle Nymph, not far from hence,
That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream,
Sabrina is her name, a virgin pure.

And, as the old swain said, she can unlock
The clasping charm, and thaw the numbing spell,
If she be right invoked in warbled song.”

He then sings the invocation to Sabrina. Sabrina rises and replies in a beautiful song, the music of which is not at present to be found, and finally comes down the stage, and the Lady rises out of her seat. The Spirit promises that her lofty head shall be crowned with many a tower and terrace round ; and then says :—

“ Come, lady, while Heaven lends us grace
Let us fly this cursed place,
Lest the sorcerer us entice
With some other new device.
I shall be your faithful guide
Through this gloomy covert wide ;
And not many furlongs thence
Is your father's residence,
Where this night are met in state
Many a friend to gratulate
His wished presence ; and beside
All the swains that there abide,
With jigs and rural dance resort ;
We shall catch them at their sport,
And our sudden coming there
Will double all their mirth and cheer ;
Come, let us haste, the stars grow high,
But Night sits monarch yet in the mid sky.”

“ The scene changes, presenting Ludlow Town and the President's Castle ; then come in the country dancers ; after them the Attendant Spirit, with the two Brothers and the Lady.” The Spirit sings :—

“ Back, shepherds, back ; enough your play
Till next sunshine holiday :

Here be, without duck or nod,
Other trippings to be trod
Of lighter toes, and such court guise
As Mercury did first devise
With the mincing Dryades,
On the lawns and on the leas."

He advances with the three children, presents them to their father and mother, and proceeds :—

"Noble lord and lady bright,
I have brought ye new delight ;
Here behold, so goodly grown,
Three fair branches of your own ;
Heaven hath timely tried their youth,
Their faith, their patience, and their truth,
And sent them here through hard assays
With a crown of deathless praise,
To triumph, in victorious dance,
O'er sensual folly and intemperance."

Then comes the epilogue : "Now, my task is smoothly done"; and so, with a musical cadenza, the piece closes.

As a poem, "Comus" was sufficient, says Hallam, "to convince anyone of taste and feeling that a great poet had arisen in England, and one partly formed in a different school from his contemporaries." "Comus" also represents the high-water mark of the Masque; and it is not only a Masque, but an allegory. At that time, 1634, Milton stood between the two opposing forces of Puritan and Cavalier; while he enforced throughout the Masque the great lesson of chastity and sobriety of life, he shewed that he was no Calvinist, and could enter cheerfully into those pleasures to which true art could minister. Green, in his "Short History," even goes so far as to say : "The historic interest of Milton's Comus lies in its forming part of a protest made by the more cultured Puritans against the gloomier bigotry

which persecution was fostering in the party at large." One more interesting fact deserves to be recorded. In 1639 Milton passed through Geneva. There was then residing there a certain teacher of Italian named Cerdogni; his family kept an album for the autographs of distinguished travellers, which album is still extant. Amongst the autographs is Milton's, and the lines he wrote were the concluding lines of this Masque:—

"If virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her."

I have only been able to give you a hurried idea of the Masque of "Comus"; read it for yourselves, especially the last part with all the lyrics.

For the last portion of my lecture I shall take you for a few short rambles round Ludlow, and, first of all, to the Castle Walks. It is a very curious thing that Lady Alice Egerton, who had, no doubt, often walked here, married (as his third wife) Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carberry, who became Lord President of Wales. Professor Masson says:—

"Thus, by a romantic chance, the Countess of Carberry re-entered Ludlow Castle, and graced once more, as mistress of the Castle, the very hall in which, twenty-six years before, in her early girlhood, she had acted and sung her part in Milton's 'Comus.' But this is not all the surprise. If tradition is correct, the Secretary of the Earl of Carberry in the beginning of his Welsh Presidency, and the acting steward of Ludlow Castle under him through 1661 and 1662, was Samuel Butler, an elderly man of whom the world had heard nothing as yet, but who was soon to be known as the author of 'Hudibras.' When the first part of 'Hudibras' was published in 1663, and all London was laughing over it, can any rumour of this connection of its author with Ludlow Castle and the Carberry family have reached the blind Milton in his obscure London suburb? And if so, did it ever occur to him as odd

that this new favourite of the Restoration should have been walking so recently, with his steward's wand in his hand, and, perhaps, with the forthcoming 'Hudibras' in his pocket, through the very hall in which 'Comus' had been performed, and in the company of the very lady who had been the star of that performance as the young Lady Alice Egerton?"

Having glanced at the delightful walks in the vicinity, we will now leave the Castle, and climb the hill close by. Starting from town, we soon mount the rising ground, and nearing Whitcliffe, we have a view of Ludlow Castle, and then a fine view of Whitcliffe and the River Teme, with Denham Bridge in the distance. From Mary's Knoll there is a fine view, and many a glorious sunset is to be seen from this point. But we must now run down from Mary Knoll into the woods, with their varying and delightful scenery; and let us say with Comus:—

“ I know each lane, and every alley green,
Dingle, or bushy dell, of this wild wood,
And every bosky bourn from side to side,
My daily walks and ancient neighbourhood.”

When clear of the woods we may find ourselves on the road to Wigmore, the original holding of the Mortimers, to whom I have already alluded. The family is supposed to have derived its name (*de mortuo mari*) from some feat of arms done at the Dead Sea; and Roger Mortimer and his son Ralph are said to have fought with the Conqueror. This Ralph had the manor of Wigmore granted to him, and so many others that his son inherited no less than 130 manors. They were a very powerful and a very intriguing family, but I think they were very popular too. To give a history of these powerful nobles would be to give you, amongst other items, the whole history of the Wars of the Roses; but we may note, by the way, that one Mortimer, Roger,

the eighth of his line, by his marriage with Johanna de Geneville, inherited Ludlow Castle, where his ancestor Hugh, the second Lord, had been kept in captivity. The history of the Mortimers is the history of the ups and downs of many of our old nobility. Now a prisoner in Ludlow Castle; now the master of Ludlow Castle; now fighting against the Welsh ("a post from Wales laden with heavy news, whose worst was that the noble Mortimer, leading the men of Herefordshire to fight against the irregular and wild Glendower, was by the rude hands of that Welshman taken, and a thousand of his people butchered"); now fighting against his King; now Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; now at the block; now marrying a Royal Princess; and now mounting to the throne itself! Ludlow Castle was the property of the Mortimers for 180 years. The last Mortimer of Wigmore died in 1425—

"Here lies the dusky torch of Mortimer,
Choked with ambition of the meaner sort;"

but his sister Anne, by her marriage with Richard Plantagenet, son of Edmund Duke of York, and grandson of Edward III., transmitted the Mortimer blood and estates to her son Richard Plantagenet; and it was not until 1485, at the battle of Bosworth Field, that the house of Mortimer was finally and utterly extinguished.

From Wigmore Castle we pass on to Richard's Castle. There are very fine remains of the old Castle, which is of earlier date than the Conquest; and there is a magnificent Church with a series of windows that would gladden the heart of any architect. There are other interesting things to be seen, among them a remarkable pigeon-cote, of which there are so many in Herefordshire and Shropshire. Another thing to be noted at

Richard's Castle is the Bone Well, to which Drayton thus alludes :—

“ With strange and sundry tales
Of all their wondrous things ; and not the least of Wales,
Of that prodigious spring (his wondering as he passed)
That little fishes' bones continually doth cast.”

And Camden says :—

“ Beneath this Castle, Nature, which nowhere disporteth itself more in stirring wonders than in waters, hath brought forth a pretty well, which is always full of little fish-bones, or, as some think, of small frog-bones, although they be from time to time drawn out of it : whence it is called Bonewell.”

Then we get to the old rustic-looking Pembridge, a decaying township, with a beautiful old farmhouse, and with a belfry of the 14th Century. The belfry is separated from the church here and at Richard's Castle ; why, it is not clear, but it is said they could not find a proper foundation. This is full of the most magnificent timber, in splendid preservation. We pass by a good old Hereford barn (much better than those hateful galvanized iron-roof things that we see nowadays in the country), and many interesting old Herefordshire cottages which do not conform to modern building bye-laws. And then we reach Dodmore Hall, a moated residence, now a farmhouse.

We may go a little further to Stokesay. Stokesay Castle, which was part of the inner line of defence on the Welsh Marches, is the finest fortified manor-house in the kingdom. The Church is quaint and contains pews covered over at the top ; delightful places. Thence we go to Bromfield. In 1105 a Priory of secular canons was founded here ; but in 1155 the canons wished to become monks, and Bromfield was thenceforth considered a cell under Gloucester ; so that Bromfield is

older than Ludlow. The gate is of monastic date; the portion above was added afterwards. The chancel has a most peculiar painted roof; it dates from the 17th Century. I have seen it described as "the best specimen of the worst period of ecclesiastical art"; but I cannot subscribe to this. A pleasant stroll through the park brings us back again to Ludlow.

In conclusion, let me point out that "Comus" is not unconnected with Chester. The Lord President who listened to it was of Cheshire descent; Henry Lawes' brother, William Lawes (musician in ordinary to King Charles I.), was killed while fighting for his royal master at the siege of Chester; and Milton married, as his third wife, a Cheshire woman, Elizabeth Minshull (she was the daughter of Randle Minshull of Wistaston, near Nantwich). After the poet's death she lived at Nantwich for many years, and being poor and somewhat proud (as the widow of so great a man might justly be), she gave rise to a Cheshire proverb: "Mrs. Milton's feast; enough and no more."

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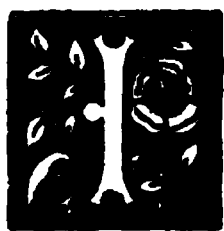


Chester Cathedral: The Stalls, Misereres, and Woodwork of the Choir

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A.,

ARCHDRACON OF CHESTER

(Read 26th February, 1902)



DO not propose to deal to-day with the architectural features of the Choir. There are some peculiarities which are noteworthy: such as the different character of the arcading on the north and the south side; the stunted nature of the triforium-arches in the two eastern bays on the north side; the less ornate character of this portion of the triforium contrasted with the more highly decorated capitals of the columns above it, and the irregular size of the arches in its easternmost bay; and the fact that the tower-arch is not exactly in the centre of the walls which bound the north and south sides of the Choir. I wish rather to direct attention to the woodwork, both ancient and modern, in the Choir.

In doing this, however, it may be well to remind ourselves that the Choir has not always been confined within its present bounds. At one time (I suppose at the completion of the Church in its present form), the western termination of the Choir was such that in the Choir was included one bay of the Nave. The traces of this have already been pointed out, and we know from

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Gloucester, Norwich, and several other Cathedrals, that such arrangement was not uncommon. Afterwards, it was moved to the eastern side, and later to the west side of the crossing, where it was when Dean Anson died. If the present Stalls were removed to the western end of the eastern bay of the Nave they would practically reach to the eastern tower-arch; if they started from the western tower-arch they would extend to or cover the first bay of the Choir. The Choir was separated from the Nave by a solid stone screen (formerly painted with pictures of English Kings), of the date of the 14th Century; and I believe some part of this is to be seen in the Choir aisles. When the Choir was so much longer, the altar with the sedilia on the south, and the credence table and aumbry on the north, would be at least a bay further west than at present, and there would be an ambulatory at the back of it, making the only entrance then into the Lady Chapel.

At the last restoration the stone-screen was removed, and the Stalls made to open both into Nave and Choir, whilst the Choir was made to coincide with what might be called the natural Choir of the Church. I mention all this so that we may bear in mind what care must have been exercised, during these many disturbances of their position, to preserve so much of the graceful and elegant canopy-work of the Stalls and the other woodwork. We learn, indeed, from Dean Howson's Guide, that the restoration of the woodwork was very costly, as it had been much injured in parts; and a closer examination might reveal what portions had to be renewed or added; but it is a marvel to me that any should have been handed down to us at all, especially when we recall how, at the beginning of the 19th Century, there were pews (some of them, too, elevated on pillars)

in the Choir. There must have been considerable danger of damage in these many removals; and we cannot be too thankful that so much (if not all) of what is old has been spared to us.

Through the kindness of Messrs. Thompson, of Peterborough, I am able to give some more definite particulars as to the condition of the Stalls before restoration. They write:—

“All the old Stalls and Canopies were in a very bad state, and had been to a large extent repaired in deal; all the deal was taken out and renewed in oak. No less than 35 of the large topmost finials were either altogether missing or in deal. No columns to support the tabernacle work were in existence, so far as we know, nor were there any remains of the same, or they would have been preserved. The whole of the ‘Angel’ terminations were new. The canopies at the west end were all new, as also six of the canopies to the side Stalls, which were found to be all in deal. The large canopy at the west entrance is also all new; and the old parts below the canopies were repaired. All the canopy-work had received several coats of paint; this was all cleaned off before the repairs were taken in hand.”

When we come to ask the date of the Stalls, with their beautiful canopies of tabernacle work, we are met with different opinions expressed by different authorities. Mr. Parker puts them down to the latter part of the 15th Century, and as probably part of the work of Simon Ripley. Sir Gilbert Scott makes a similar statement. Our present Dean ascribes them to the end of the 14th Century; and though it may seem rash to differ from such experts as Mr. Parker and Sir Gilbert Scott, I cannot but think that he is right. The Stalls at Lincoln (of which we shall have more to say presently) are, in their canopies and other ornamentation, almost identical with those here. They were considered by

NORTH SIDE

"Return-Stalls," Chester Cathedral
(Height from floor-line, 3 feet 3 inches)
(See page 52)

SOUTH SIDE



Pugin to be the finest examples in the kingdom, and they were erected in the third quarter of the 14th Century, by the munificence of the Treasurer, John de Welburne. If, therefore, similarity of style be any indication of date, we should not be wrong in asserting that the canopies at Chester were constructed before the close of the 14th Century. Whether the seats below, with the "Misereres," are older, must, I suppose, be a matter of conjecture. They would, at any rate, be complete by themselves, and the canopies might have been added subsequently as embellishments. We know how in some of our Cathedrals, as also in many College Chapels, we have such stalls or seats without any panelled-work at the back or canopies overhead. It is, therefore, I think, more than possible that the seats were erected first, and that their beauty was enhanced at a later period by the addition of the beautiful tabernacle-work, with its forest of delicate pinnacles. We do not, however, see this quite in its original conception; for traces are to be found in the elbows, so to speak, of the seats, of there having been (as there still are at Lincoln) light and elegant columns, which supported the principal shafts of the tabernacle-work above. I do not quite know when these were removed. It may be that some had vanished and some been left, and that uniformity was secured by removing all, and placing as bosses, below the shafts referred to, the angels which we now have, with their instruments of music and other emblems. I confess myself to sincere regret that the columns were not restored by Sir Gilbert Scott. The Dean tells me that they certainly were there before the last restoration, and others confirm this opinion. There is also a lithograph by Troppas, published by Day & Son, which shows the Choir after Dean Anson's restoration, with the Walker pulpit; and in this the supports

or columns are shewn. They are not cylindrical in shape, but square, of an architectural design, carrying on the same features that you may observe in the pinnacles above them.

If we ask what it is that attracts the admiration of everyone in this canopy-work, I think we may answer first of all, the grace and dignity and elegance of the general design, softened, as the lines of it evidently are, by the effect of time and age; but secondly, though the harmony of the design is never destroyed, there is not in all its details a rigid uniformity. You will find, for instance, variations in the cusps and crockets which are used for ornamentation; the bosses or pedestals, on which it was meant that figures should stand, are not identical; and the openings intended for the reception of these figures are of different widths. I cannot but think that these and other variations, slight though they may seem in themselves, add considerably to the beauty of the whole, and prevent that stiffness which might be caused by the hardness of a Chinese adherence to one absolute pattern. Having referred to the Stalls at Lincoln, I would add that the tone of our Chester wood-work is much softer, which may have been caused by the admirable treatment it received when restored by Messrs. Thompson, under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott.

I cannot learn that there were any sure indications of the niches ever having been filled with figures. At Lincoln this was done recently, through the exertions of the late Sub-Dean Clements, who appealed to each of the Prebendaries, and asked them or their friends to supply the one that was wanted for their own Stall. Thus, and by general subscriptions, the necessary funds were raised. I believe the idea was to connect the figure with the particular Stall, or with the dedication

Bench-end to the Vice-Dean's Stall, Chester Cathedral:

Policae feeding her Young, repeated again and again. The lower portion shows the modern work by which the height was raised. (Height of old work, 3 feet 6 inches)

(See page 55)

1000

1000

of the Church of the Parish after which it was named; the cost was about £10 per statue. At Chester there are 48 niches over the Stalls; 15 slighter ones over the entrance; besides 6 over the Bishop's Throne. The cost here of a similar work would not be far short of £700. There seem to be traces of figures having been fixed on the door-posts at the entrance to the Choir.

There are 48 Stalls: 20 on each side, and 4 return-stalls at each side of the entrance into the Choir. The number at Lincoln is very much larger: 62 (now increased to 68). At Manchester, where the work also is very beautiful and dated at 1510, the number is much smaller. At Lincoln, also, on the panels are scrolls or tablets containing the prebendal title of the particular Stall, and also the Latin title of a Psalm. The Consuetudinary of the Cathedral says: "It is an ancient usage of the Church of Lincoln to say one Mass and the whole Psalter daily." The title on the Stall shows the Psalm or Psalms which the Prebendary who occupies it is supposed to recite daily; an obligation of which he is reminded when he is first installed. The idea is certainly a very beautiful one.

We turn now to the seats themselves, with their "Misereres" as they are generally called. First as to the seats; their appearance must have been slightly altered by the raising some eight inches or a foot of the book-boards or desks in front of them. At Lincoln these will be found to be much lower. Here we can see that they have been raised, no doubt much to the comfort and convenience of worshippers. It will be seen at a glance that above the older panelling, with its architectural design upon it, is some modern work; whilst the bench-ends have been raised by being placed on some carefully-designed pediments. The Stalls are, roughly speaking, on an average about two feet wide,

though they vary somewhat ; and it is worthy of remark that the Stalls of the Dean and the Vice-Dean (corresponding, I suppose, to those of the Abbot and the Prior) are considerably wider and more commodious than the others. Can this be a recognition of the dignity of the occupants ? The elbows of the Stalls have all been suitably carved, a lion being the most common pattern ; and the figures thereupon are now mostly rendered smooth by age. I need not call particular attention to them, unless it be to the graceful and skilful way in which the two converging elbows in the corners (where the return-stalls meet those running east) are designed ; that on the north side is particularly fine. You will not expect a full description of all the " Misereres." I believe the more proper term is " Misericordes," though the former title is more generally adopted. The name is given to the little projection or small seat which is found on the upturned seat, and signifies that it is put there out of *pity* to the weaker brethren, to act as a support to them during the long period of standing which the reciting of the Hours or Old Services demanded of them. There is another similar use of the word which was applied in Benedictine Houses to the halls where the weaker brethren were permitted, out of *pity* to their infirmity, to eat flesh-meat.

I have adopted the numbering and description of these Misereres which is given by the late Dean Howson in his Hand-book. We should naturally have expected that the subjects portrayed would have been taken from Holy Scripture ; but here, as elsewhere, this is quite the exception ;¹ in fact the only distinctly *historical*

¹ The Stalls at Exeter Cathedral (1224-1244), erected by Bishop Bruere, are said to possess the most complete " Misereres " in the Kingdom, and represent scenes from the romance of the Knight and the Swan, and exhibit the first carving of an elephant now known in England.

**Bench-end to the Archdeacon of Macclesfield's Stall, North-east of Choir,
Chester Cathedral**

**On the edge is a Jesse Tree, and in the panel The Annunciation
(Height of old work, 3 feet 6 inches)**

(See page 55,

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city of New York.

one from the Bible is a modern one (No. 9, by Mr. Bridgman) of "the Angels removing the stone from the Saviour's Tomb"; though there are some few of a religious character, as the following: (1) Pelican feeding her young from her breast, emblem of our Lord feeding His Church; (3) Seraphs holding emblems of the Passion; (17) An *Angel* playing a Cithara, the supporters being *Angels* rising from some singular-looking clouds; (35) Virgin and Child, an Angel on each side; and (48) Coronation of the Virgin under a canopy. There are, however, very few really ridiculous or grotesque subjects such as may be often found; nor can we connect many with that spirit of caricature, which led one Order of Monks at times to hold up to ridicule the failings of another. This is often seen in corbels and other carved work of those days. The temptations which beset the monastic life *may* be indicated in (30) where a fox, in costume of a monk, is making an offering to a nun, two nuns watching through the trees. The celibate carver shows the dangers attending matrimony in (13), where a wife is seen chastising her husband; a similar scene is found in one of the "Misereres" in Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. In (38) we may, *perhaps*, in the person looking through the branches of the trees at the sow and the litter, see the ecclesiastic looking after his tithe. The way in which some of the animals (natural or fabulous) are carved is admirable; and we may note particularly the plumage of the herons in (15); and the "falcon" in (45). We are supposed to have Richard Cœur de Lion pulling the heart out of the lion in (28), though, but for the dress, it might have been taken for Samson. No. (46), "Gate with portcullis fallen on the back of the horse of a rider, who escapes and is safe inside," *may* represent some event of the

time, or may be symbolical; it is a remarkably fine specimen. The features of some of the figures and of the masks are wonderfully varied, as may be seen in (25), (26), and (27). The date of the carvings might possibly be fixed by an expert by the costumes of the figures, as the armour of the Knight in (2), or by the Tudor roses in (37).

In No. (6) we have a story from the life of S. Werburgh, which we may give at greater length, and the substance of which, from Bradshaw's life, is as follows:— At Weedon, in Northamptonshire, a multitude of wild geese (commonly called ganutes) were very destructive to the corn and crops in that neighbourhood, and complaint was made by the people to the Saint. She sent a messenger to drive the birds to her. After some demur he went with the message:—

“ My lady commands you birds, every one
Afore me to go unto her proper mansion.”

A graphic description is given of the mournful condition of the birds, conscious of their guilt, trailing their wings as they obeyed and entered the hall, where they were kept to await judgment on the following day. They then prayed for grace and pardon and licence to depart. This was granted by S. Werburgh on condition that none of them should ever light upon the lands of Weedon, or destroy the crops there. A servant, however, had taken one of the geese, and privily hidden it. The geese took their departure and flew away, but missing their fellow, returned, and not venturing to light on the ground after S. Werburgh's injunction, made grievous lamentation as they flew round and round, and—

“ In their manner and kind they said : O, sweet president,
Why suffer ye such wickedness done for to be
Anent our fellow, against all right and charity ? ”

[illegible]

;

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971). The concentration of chlorophylls was expressed as $\mu\text{g mL}^{-1}$ of the sample.

[illegible]

2

Journal of Management Studies, 19(1), 67-80.

Bench-end to the Dean's Staff, Chester Cathedral

**A Jesse Tree, leading up to the Coronation of the Virgin; the elbow represents a Palmer
(Height of old work, 3 feet 6 inches)**

(See page 55)

S. Werburgh found out the culprit, restored the bird to life (for it had been eaten), and sent the geese away—

“ And gave them a lesson or they went her from,
How they should praise their maker and sovereign,
Saying (*benedicite volucres cœli Domino*).”

It is this last scene (the detection of the culprit) which is specially represented here. One of the Misereres (5) is not carved; (7), (8), (9), and (10) are modern; (9), as we have said, by Mr. Bridgman; the others by Mr. Armitage, from Æsop's fables.

There are 36 bench-ends or poppy-heads, and of these 17 are certainly old, and the rest apparently new. I imagine that some of these may have been new at Dean Anson's restoration. At any rate, Messrs. Thompson write :—

“ There were 6 or 8 new standard-ends, with poppy-heads, to the book-boards in front of the Stalls; some to the desks were repaired; some were altogether new, and we think were raised about 8 inches.”

The most noteworthy, perhaps, are those at the entrance to the Choir and the easternmost one on the north side. That by the Dean's Stall is remarkably fine. It represents a “ Jesse Tree”—a favourite subject with mediæval workers in stone, wood, and embroidery. There are in all 22 figures, counting those up the edge. (In the window of S. Mary's, Shrewsbury, there are 47). The poppy-head is most delicately carved, being hollowed out almost like Indian carving. Another “ Jesse Tree ” will be found (with 15 figures) on the edges of the eastern bench-end on the north side; whilst on the inner side of this is carved an interesting representation of the Annunciation, up to which the tree seems to lead. The one by the Vice-Dean's Stall gives, repeated again and again, the Pelican feeding her young from her

breast; which is also reproduced on the inner side, and on that "Miserere." This favourite emblem of our Lord is founded, I believe, on a misconception in natural history, as that bird feeds her young ones from the pouch in which she stores the fish she has taken. The armrests, whether old or new, are worthy of careful inspection. Besides the strange and fabulous creatures thus depicted, we have an Elephant (now trunkless I regret to say), and a Palmer or Pilgrim by the Dean's Stall. One cannot but be struck with the ingenuity of design which is here shewn, even though one may not be able quite to understand always what it means. Amongst the new ones is one representing the toper with his pot, and the miser with his moneybags. Time will not admit of any further detailed description of this part of the work.

The Bishop's Throne is new, and the design is taken from the older stalls and tabernacle work. This has been done very faithfully, and the effect is quite harmonious. Yet, I think, we must all agree that it lacks that refinement and delicacy and elegance which marks the older work.

Before passing from the Stalls I ought to mention the groining of the canopies, which is very elaborate, and has been relieved by the gilding of the small bosses. The fronts of the seats are all new and of good design; the only ancient portion being the lower part of the backs of the seats. The arcading on this is very rich, though occasionally, as will easily be seen, it has been repaired.

Turning to other wood-work in the Choir, our eyes rest on the Pulpit and on the Altar. The former was the gift of the Freemasons of Cheshire, and was executed

Scraps with six wings (Isaiah, vi. 2)
(Height 12 inches)

Lion
(Height 11 inches)

**Elephant, with Boudab, the trunk
broken off**
(Height 13 inches,

Monster swallowing another
(Height 10 inches)

Elbows to benches, Choir of Chester Cathedral
(See page 56)

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(like the Bishop's Throne) by Messrs. Farmer and Brindley. In the panels are represented the building of Solomon's Temple, and the shewing of the Heavenly City of the Apocalypse to S. John the Divine; both these, I take it, are peculiarly masonic subjects. The other panel gives us S. John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness. I suppose that this is a hint to those, who have to occupy the pulpit, as to the message they ought to deliver.

The Altar is formed of wood from Palestine, which was presented by the late Henry Lees, Esq., M.P. for Southampton. Thus, there is oak from Bashan; cedar from Lebanon; and olive, which, if not from Gethsemane, is from some other part of the Holy Land. The carving on it represents plants (such as hyssop) connected with the history of our Lord's Passion. Though some may regret the absence of colour, which would have been afforded by various Altar Frontals, we must all admire the idea, which has thus connected us in our highest act of worship with the country where our blest Redeemer passed his earthly life, and where He died for us.

Looking upwards we are reminded that the beautiful roof of the Choir is also formed of wood. We know that originally, though the springers were provided, the vaulting was never attempted. Mr. Parker, in his Paper read in 1858, speaks of a modern vault of plaster, in close imitation of what the stone-vault would have been. This was, I suppose, erected under Dean Anson, and is shown in the lithograph to which I have referred. The present vaulting is of oak, and was the gift of the late Robert Platt, Esq. The decoration of it was carried out by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, at a cost of £1,350. When it was first done it must have looked, perhaps,

more striking than at present, and it may have been more easy to detect or read the designs upon it; now it has sobered down by the effect of time and smoke. The subjects in the sixteen eastern compartments or divisions are the Four Major and the Twelve Minor Prophets. Each is represented with a scroll bearing a sentence, or the beginning of a sentence, in Latin from his own prophecy: though I question whether at any time it would have been possible to read this with the naked eye. The texts, it is needless to say, were carefully selected; though I do not know that any uniformity of idea can be detected. They rather represent one of the most notable utterances of the particular Prophet. Thus from Isaiah: "A Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son"; from Joel: "I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh"; from Micah: "And thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, art not the least among the princes of Judah"; from Zechariah: "Behold, thy King cometh unto thee"; from Haggai: "Bring wood and build the house." These will serve to illustrate what I mean. I may say that for Jonah the words of our Lord are given: "There shall no sign be given but the sign of the prophet Jonah." In the compartments in the western bays, over the seats of the choristers, are angels with musical instruments; and in the intervening ones, orders of angelic beings, according to conventional types.

It will thus be seen that even in the ornamentation of the roof there was a distinct design, and that it was intended to convey its lessons to the worshippers whom it covered.



**Beast swallowing Discer with his
Money-bags**
(Height 12 inches)

S. Wierburgh (?)
(Height 12 inches)

A Palmer
(Height 12 inches)

Winged Dolphin (?)
(Height 9 inches)

Elbows to Bench-ends, Choir of Chester Cathedral
(See page 56)

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The Chester Miracle Plays; some facts concerning them, and the supposed authorship of Ralph Higden

BY JOSEPH C. BRIDGE, M.A., Mus. Doc. (Oxon.)

(Read March 18th, 1902)

PART I.—PROBABLE SOURCES OF INSPIRATION

I HAD intended to give, this Session, a Paper on Miracle Plays generally, but the introduction of the Chester Plays into another Paper read before this Society this Session, and the claim set up so confidently for Ralph Higden as the author of them, makes it necessary for me to-night to confine my attention almost entirely to the Chester series. I do this the more readily, first, because I think it is high time that the legend which links Higden with the Plays, and the evidence which exists in the matter, should be thoroughly sifted, in order that we may arrive at some definite conclusion; and secondly, because, strange to say, these Plays have never yet directly engaged the attention of this Society, notwithstanding the area of research is so great, and the points of interest are so many.

There are, as you know, four great cycles of Miracle Plays extant in this country: York, Chester, Wakefield,¹

¹ Otherwise called the Townley or Woodkirk series.

and Coventry, in addition to fragments belonging to Newcastle-on-Tyne, Beverley, &c.

An eminent critic has said that "The Chester Cycle is, relatively speaking, deficient in individual character."¹ An examination of this statement, the comparison of our cycle with the other three, and many other interesting points, must be left for a future occasion.

A few words with regard to Higden. I cannot say much about his life, for little or nothing is known concerning it. He is said to have died at a great age in 1363 (some writers put it a few years later) and to have lived 64 years in the Monastery.

It has been asserted that men did not live to the age of 85 in the 14th or 15th Centuries. There are some old Latin verses of Higden's time which give supposed average ages as follows: a dog, 9 years; a horse, 27 years; and a man, 81 years.² The point is not very material. However old, Higden was not old *enough* to have been born in the middle of the 13th Century; and the importance of this will appear later.

As an author, Higden had little or no originality. He was a hard working, hard reading monk, an industrious compiler, well acquainted with the literature of past times, as well as of his own. He certainly does not give one the idea of having latent dramatic or poetical power; at the same time, his knowledge of languages and of the Holy Scripture, and his powers of arrangement, point him out as a man likely to be called upon to assist in the preparation of the Plays; and it would certainly be difficult, at that time, to find the necessary literary skill outside the walls of a Monastery.

¹ Professor Courthorpe, "History of Poetry," I., p. 405.

² Summerley, "Handbook to Westminster Abbey" (Bell & Co.), p. 71.

It is by no means certain that a monk would venture to appear as the author of such Plays as these, especially those of a humorous kind, for the character which Walter Mapes had earned for himself in the 12th Century, had brought down the displeasure of the heads of the Church; and in 1289 a statute was published that no Clerks should be "joculatores, goliardi seu bufones," *i.e.*, "jokers, lampoonists, or buffoons."¹

This inhibition, however, would hardly apply to Higden, who was only a lay member of the community, but he would know that the Church looked askance at such literary work.

So long as the Church controlled the Plays, the clergy were favourable to their performance; but when the stage was pitched in the street, or on the green, it became another matter. The following rimes, written in 1303 by Robert Manning (le Brunne), show this distinctly:—

" Hyt ys forebode in the decree
Miracles for to make or se
For miracles yf you begynne
Hyt ys a gaderynt, a syghte of synne
He may in the churche, thurgh thys resun
Play the resurrecyon.

Yf thou do it in weyis or grenys
A syghte of synne truly hyt semys."

As late as 1385 we find William of Wykeham objecting to the Plays taking place in the Churchyard, and threatening those who should lend vestments from the Church to the actors.²

¹ L'Estrange, "History of English Humour," I., 189, *et seq.*

² The tide of performances could not be stopped. In the next Century priests helped in the performances. In a proclamation at York, in 1426, mention is made of a "certain very religious fater, William Melton of the Order of Friars Minors, *professor of holy pageantry*, and a most famous preacher of the word of God." Toulmin Smith's "York Plays," Introduction, p. lvi

The opposition of the clergy might have been fatal to the continuance of Miracle Plays, but for the Feast of Corpus Christi, which was instituted in 1264, and firmly established in 1311. On this day the people and the trade gilds took part in processions with the clergy, carrying pictures and images of Saints, and sometimes accompanied by the members of the gilds, dressed as Angels, the Twelve Apostles, &c. From this parade it was an easy step to dramatic representation; and this day was rigidly adhered to by the gilds as their great and common festival.

Chester has always had the credit of being an exception to the rule, by holding the performances of the Plays at Whitsuntide; but I am inclined to think that this view is incorrect, and that Chester was, at first, in line with other places.

The earliest authoritative allusion to the Plays, with date,¹ is in the Baker's Charter, 2 Edward IV., 1462, where it is recited that "there hath been tyme out of mind a company of bakers . . . and to be redy to pay the costes & expenses & play & light of Corpus Christi as oft-tymes as it shall be assessed."

Again, 11 and 12 Edward IV., 1471, we find the Company of Sadlers liable to a fine, "one half of which is to be paid to the Earl of Chester, and the other half to the said Stewards, for the support and pageant light and play on the Festival of Corpus Christi (*pagine luminis et ludi Corporis Christi*)."² Why and when the Plays got shifted to Whitsuntide we do not know, but I fancy it was between 1470-80, and will refer to this point later on.

¹ Warton, in his "History of Poetry," gives 1327 as the date of performance, and many writers have copied this date from him, but there is no evidence whatever to support the statement.

² Morris, "Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods," p. 316.

Now it is necessary to say that no writers of repute, least of all the German critics and others who have carefully studied the various cycles of Miracle Plays, believe that any one series was written or compiled by *one* individual.

No one can study the Plays without noting differences which imply various translators or adapters, and various degrees of dramatic genius. I cannot think that the writer of the "Creation," in our series, was the writer of "Noah's Flood." The one is heavy and dull; the other light and farcical. Again, the "Harrowing of Hell" smacks strongly of the 16th Century. The episode of the false alewife (who figures in the Ludlow Miserere) is evidently added by a late hand. No; it cannot be claimed for any one man that he instituted this method of instructing the people. It was evolved gradually from the Church, and was universal throughout this country, from Newcastle-on-Tyne to Cornwall.

Now as to the sources from which the Plays may have been taken. Professor Courthorpe says:¹ "Regarded as the germ of the English Drama, the Miracle Play, both in its conception and in its technical machinery, bears the clearest marks of its religious origin. . . . From the close correspondence in the distribution of the subject, that exists between the various cycles, it is plain that they must all have followed some archetype, which we may assume to have been drawn up with the sanction of the Church." If any such scheme existed, Higden would certainly be likely to know of it.

As a corollary to this, I should add that, in the case of the York Plays, Miss Toulmin Smith says of the supposed author: "That he belonged to one of the

¹ "History of Poetry," I., 397-8.

religious houses of the north, in the Yorkshire district, may well be hazarded, on account of the knowledge of the Scriptures, and especially the careful Concordance of the narrative from the Gospel shown in the Plays";¹ and the author of the best Plays in the Wakefield series is supposed to have been "in orders."²

It is, I think, generally agreed that the York series seems to be the oldest, and I, personally, am certainly of that opinion.³ It would be a very natural sequence for Chester to follow the lead of York in this matter, and Wakefield certainly seems to have done so, and to have borrowed and altered some of the Plays. Further than this, there is a very curious resemblance between the Wakefield and Chester Play of the "Resurrection," which looks as if certain lines were directly copied one from the other, or perhaps both from a common original.⁴

But another probable source must be alluded to. About 1320 was written a great poem in the North of England, consisting of 24,000 lines, and putting into lively narrative-form the whole history of God and man. This was the "Cursor Mundi," and Miss Toulmin Smith says:—

"It is impossible not to be struck with the general resemblance, in subject and arrangement, between the 'Cursor Mundi' and the York cycle of Corpus Plays. This offers a closer parallel to that poem than any of the other collections;

¹ "York Plays," Introduction, p. 45.

² "The Townley Plays," England & Pollard, Introduction, xxx.

³ Professor Morley, in "English Writers," IV., 79, says: "The oldest series of English Mysteries . . . were the Plays acted at Chester at Whitsuntide," but does not give any proofs for this statement.

⁴ "The Townley Plays," England & Pollard, Introduction, xix., where the whole passage is given. It is a very interesting point, and has not been hitherto noticed.

first, because it is more perfect and comprehensive ; secondly, because it is free from much of the coarse jocularity and popular incident which were introduced into the Towneley and Coventry Plays. Several portions of the 'Cursor' are as dramatic as the limits of a narrative in couplets would allow, *e.g.*, the Legend of Seth and Adam (Ll. 1237—1432); The Story of Joseph ; The Harrowing of Hell (Ll. 17849—18450); or the Death and Burial of Mary. The York Plays, while cast in a poetic form, with skill and power of a higher level than that of the 'Cursor,' take up the course of the biblical history, more especially of the New Testament, on the same model. Comparison of the several series fills up some of the blanks and gaps which occur in one or other of them ; for example, the seventh Play at Beverley was on 'Adam and Seth,' in its right order, a subject which occurs in no other Plays except the Cornish dramas 'Origo Mundi' and the 'Creation.' The Chester Plays, 23 on Prophecies and the Fifteen Signs of Doom preceding the end of the world, and 24 on Anti-Christ, are both unknown elsewhere among English Plays, *though found in the 'Cursor.'* The meaning of the 'Prologue of Prophets,' or 'Processus prophetarum'—a Play which occurs in the Chester, Towneley, and Coventry sets—also receives light from a comparison with the 'Cursor.' "

So far we have dealt with English sources only, but we must now turn our attention abroad.

It is to France that we must look for the first performance of Opera,¹ and for the first popular performance of Mystery and Miracle Plays. Though drawn from that source, it is absurd to suppose, for one moment, that the English Miracle Plays that have come down to us were ever performed in this country in any other language but English. The Plays originally performed in churches were undoubtedly in Latin, for no other language would be permissible ; but none of these Latin Plays are extant.

When once the Plays crossed the threshold of the Church, and became an amusement as well as a source

¹ "Robin and Marion," by Adam de la Halle, in the 13th Century.

of instruction to the people, an intelligible language was absolutely necessary. The crowd could not have enjoyed the Quarrel of Noah and his Wife, or the Comical Conversation of the Shepherds, in a language they did not understand; but that they *did* laugh at them and enjoy them we know.

Here is a quotation from a MS. of the 14th Century, but probably written in the 13th :—

“And then they came to a long meadow in which was collected a great multitude of men, now silent, now to be heard laughing. Wondering therefore, why there was so great a congregation of people in such a place, they supposed that the spectacles called Miracles were then being celebrated.”¹

Another writer says :—

“Every one of the playwrights of the Mysteries knew that his audience would not only permit but would expect him to crack his joke about Noah’s Wife; to pile up his vocabulary in representing the vaunts of Herod; and to lighten the gloom and terror of the Crucifixion with a sportive episode between Pilate and his wife Percula.”²

The Quarrels of Noah and his Wife formed so popular a story, that they became proverbial. Chaucer (who has a hundred references to Miracle Plays) says :—

“Hast thou not heard (quod Nicholas) also
The sorowe of Noe with his felowship
Or that he might get his wife to ship.”

Chaucer wrote this about 1390, and it appears certain, therefore, that our Play of “Noah,” and probably those on the same subject at Wakefield and Newcastle-on-Tyne, were often performed by the middle of the 14th Century. Remember, the people went to *listen* to these plays, not to read them, and their ordinary conversation was in English, not in French. French was the language of the Court and of official Proclamations, but not of the common people, not of the tradesmen in the

¹ The original Latin is in Wright’s “Introduction to Chester Plays,” p. ix.

² Courthorpe, “History of Poetry,” I., 404.

town, and not of the members of the Gilds. What says the author of the "Cursor Mundi"? He tells us that he had written his book in English for the love of the English people, and for the common folk to understand. "Commonly, I read" says the poet, "French rhymes; nearly all is written for Frenchmen; what is there for him who knows no French? The Commoners of England are English; the speech that most can understand should most be used. Let each have his language. I speak to the unlearned and the English, who understand what I tell."¹

Trevisa, the translator of Higden's "Polychronicon," writing in 1385, says that in all the Grammar Schools in England English was then taught, and French laid aside. I should add that English was ordered to be read in the Courts of Law in 1362, because "the French tongue is much unknown."

Further, it is to be noted that great care is taken in the Plays to make everything plain to the people.

"As many of the spectators would not have understood the terms High Priest, Annas and Caiaphas are called Bishops. When Pilate is first approached by the leaders of the Jews he tells them they must bring their cause before him in Parliament. In order to obtain a place for setting up the Cross, negotiations have to be entered into with a Squire, who gives a lease of Calvary, but is cheated in the transaction."²

All this is perfectly natural in English; how absurd if rendered in French or Latin.

I have alluded to this question of language at some length because of the opinions expressed by our local writers on the point: Mrs. Sandford thinks the Plays were originally performed in French; and Canon Morris in Latin.³

¹ Morley's "English Writers," IV., 124.

² Courthorpe, "History of Poetry," I, p. 403.

³ See *infra*, p. 38.

Our indebtedness to France in these matters is best shown in Thomas Wright's introduction to the "Chester Plays," published by the Shakesperian Society. He says :—

"How far the English sets of Mysteries, which we find in the 15th Century, and which, perhaps, existed in the 14th, were translations from French originals, I am inclined to doubt; but if any were so, the Chester Mysteries appear to have the greatest claim to that distinction.

"In notes to the present volumes I have shown several instances of similarity between these Chester Plays and some of the printed French Mysteries of the earlier half of the 16th Century, which I suspect to be only reproductions or alterations from older French compositions of the same description. Mr. Collier had previously pointed out one or two remarkable coincidences, in passages taken from the Chester and French Mysteries, in his History of Dramatic Poetry (Vol. II., pp. 132, &c.)"

The passages referred to by Wright and Collier are :—
The speech of Adam, of which some lines are nearly identical with the corresponding passage in the "Mystère du viel Testament." *Secondly*, a remarkable passage in "Abraham and Isaac," which is *absolutely* identical with the French. *Thirdly*, a passage from "Balaam and Balak," in which Balaam's Ass follows very closely the French version. The passages are given in full by Wright, and to me they seem conclusive; but Wright adds :—

"I think, however, that these single passages in a large body of pieces are not sufficient to prove a direct translation or imitation. The argument deduced from the circumstance of Octavian and the three Kings being introduced speaking French, has, I think, still less force; it is only a picture and age when French was the language of the courtiers in the English Court."

In this latter point his view is, I think, correct. Mr. Wright distinctly says that he is of opinion that

the Mysteries performed in England in the 13th Century "were composed in French or Anglo-Norman"; and following the same line of argument, and especially in face of the three remarkable coincidences of idea and phrase quoted, I fail to see why he did not believe that other Mysteries came from the same source.

Again, the "Sacrifice of Isaac" is certainly not original. From a 15th Century MS., found at Brome Hall, Suffolk, containing the same play, and edited by Miss Toulmin Smith, we find :—

"Lines 163—314 have a strong resemblance to corresponding 134 lines in Chester version. This resemblance, sometimes of phrase, sometimes only of meaning, is interrupted by occasional passages in the Brome MS., which have no equivalents in Chester. Apparently, both editors worked upon a common original, but the Chester poet compressed the more freely, and, in so doing, greatly heightened the effect and dialogue. But he showed poor tact in omitting the charming scene between the Father and the Son after their agony is over. . . . It is possible, however, that the Chester Play has come down to us mutilated. It was plainly at one time a separate Play, and when amalgamated with that of *Abraham and Lot*, may well have been cut down for greater convenience of performance."¹

From Wright we also gather that Plays 14 to 18 follow very closely another French Mystery of the "Passion of our Lord," and Pilate actually speaks French lines. This is also the case with the "Resurrection," which opens with seven lines in French and one in Latin.

Some writers have supposed that these French lines have been left in by accident; others, that they represent the language of the Court. I think they were retained purposely, as Pilate was a grand and important person-

¹ Pollard, "English Miracle Plays," p. 185.

age, and to be able to speak two or three languages added to the dignity of his position. The similarity between "The Resurrection" at Wakefield and Chester has already been alluded to.

One other point must be noticed. The French Mysteries were uniformly written in regular verse; and as the Chester Plays are strikingly regular in metre, it affords additional ground for the supposition that they came from the Norman-French.¹

With respect to authorship, we must remember that in so long a period of years, alterations, contractions, and additions, would certainly take place from time to time.

At York the MS. of the Plays, *c.* 1430, shows 48; but in 1415 there had been 51; and another earlier list shows 57.²

At Wakefield, "various authors seem to have been at work upon the Wakefield Plays at various periods in the XIV. Century."³

At Coventry we find entries of payments to editors down to a very late period:—

1566 Item for amending Noah Play 4d.⁴

1584 payd to Mr. Smyth of Oxford for hys paynes for
a riting of the tragedye £13 6 8.

¹ It is also, of course, an argument in favour of their having been written or arranged by one author.

² Pollard, "Miracle Plays," Introduction, xxx.

³ "Wakefield Miracle Plays," a Lecture by Matthew H. Peacock, M.A., B. Mus., p. 4.

⁴ Mr. Peacock supposes that the part of Noah's Wife was re-written after the Wakefield model—that is, as a contentious person; but I think an examination of the Coventry Play shows Noah's Wife as a much more sedate personage than at Chester or Wakefield, and I think the "amending" took the form of "toning down" the part in order to meet the susceptibilities of the time. It is possible, however, that these items of expenditure refer to another series of Coventry Plays, now lost.

As the number of gilds expanded or got reduced, so the Plays were increased or amalgamated, and it is very doubtful if Chester would prove an exception to this rule.

“For, as business grew, a new craft would spring up, an old one decay, and become too poor to produce its Play, a new one must take its share; one craft trenching on the trade of another must share its burdens; sometimes two, or even three Plays would be combined into one; sometimes a Play would be laid aside, and the craft to which it had been assigned must join in producing some other.”¹

Mr. Pollard says:—

“In approaching the consideration of the four great cycles of Miracle Plays still extant (the York, Towneley, Chester, and Coventry), it must be remembered that no one of them, in the form in which it has come down to us, can be regarded as a homogeneous whole, the work of a single author. So little attention has as yet been devoted to these Plays that the relations of the different cycles to each other, and of the different parts of the same cycle to the whole, have as yet been very imperfectly worked out. It is plain, however, that the dramatists borrowed ideas and sometimes whole scenes, from each other, and that the Plays were frequently rewritten, often to the great detriment of the original metre. The connection of the Plays with the trade gilds was, in itself, a great cause of confusion. Where a city was prosperous, new gilds would arise, and the original Plays have to be subdivided, in order to give them a share in the performance. When, on the other hand, the means or the enthusiasm of the gilds was on the decline, two or more Plays would have to be run together. . . . The process of subdivision had probably reached its height about the end of the fourteenth century, and the tendency thenceforward would be to amalgamation or excision. In the Chester cycle, of which we have no extant manuscript *earlier than* 1591, the number of the Plays is only twenty-five, and marks of amalgamation are easily traced. Thus, each cycle, as it has come down to us, must be regarded rather as an organic growth than as the work of a single author.”²

¹ “York Plays,” Introduction, xix.

² Pollard, “Miracle Plays,” Introduction, xxx.

Depend upon it that we should find much valuable information on this and many other points if we had the original book of the Plays; unfortunately, it is missing.

On April 30th, 1567, "Randall Trever gent was called before the Maior of the Citie of Chester and was demaunded for the originall booke of the Whydson Plaies of the said Citie who then and ther confessed that he have had the same booke which book he deposeth upon the holy evangelist of God that by comaundement he delivered againe but where the same is now or to whom he then delivered the same book, deposeth likewise he knoweth not."¹ But although the original Play book disappeared, no doubt the separate gilds had each a copy of the Play which appertained to them, and from these certain transcriptions of the whole series of Plays were made at the end of the 16th Century.

The Chester MSS. extant are :—

- a.* 1591, by "Edward Gregorie a Scholar of Bunbury"; now in possession of the Duke of Devonshire.
- b.* 1592 } by George Bellin, B.Mus.; add. MS. 10305;
- c.* 1600 } B.Mus.; Harl. 2013.
- d.* 1604, by William Bedford; Bodleian.
- e.* 1607, by James Miller, B.Mus.; Harl. 2124.

I am glad to say that I have identified the writer of MSS. *b* and *c*—George Bellin. In the Registers of Holy Trinity Parish, published by the Rector (the Rev. L. M. Farrall) I find the following :—

"George Bellin ironmonger & Clarke of this p'rish bur: in the middle Ile 23 July 1624."²

¹ Morris, "Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods," p. 315.

² Holy Trinity "Parish Magazine," January, 1902.

Bellin, as a scholar and scribe, would be a very good person to employ as a copyist, and he seems to have done his work fairly well; though Wright quotes some curious and bad mistakes. It is not easy to account for so many copies of the Plays being made at this period. Probably, some of the leading inhabitants wished for copies when they saw the Plays at the point of extinction; and Bellin's 1592 MS. concludes with a loyal verse to his patron:—

To hym this booke belongses	} Praye ever.
I wishe continuall health	
In daily virtues for to flow	
With floudes of Godly wealth	

In addition to these complete MSS., one other fragment is in existence, which is really the oldest of all. In the year 1883, Mr. Sutton (the Chief Librarian of the Manchester Free Library) found an old parchment book-cover, with some writing upon it, which he submitted to Dr. F. J. Furnivall, who pronounced it to be a portion of a late 15th Century MS. of the Chester Plays. It is the commencement of the Play of the "Resurrection," and it is quite possible—being on parchment—that it is a remnant of the original Chester Play Book.¹

PART II.—THE EVIDENCE AS TO HIGDEN'S AUTHORSHIP.

No writers of the 14th or 15th Centuries (with one supposed exception, to which I will allude) mention Higden as the author of the Plays. At the beginning of the 16th Century there lived a writer from whom we might have expected information on the point, viz.,

¹ An account of this discovery appeared in the Manchester "Guardian," May 19th, 1883, and I am indebted to the Chief Librarian at Manchester for this information.

JOHN BALE, Bishop of Ossory, born 1493. In a biographical work of his, he discusses Higden, and gives a list of his writings, but never mentions Miracle Plays.

Now Bale was much interested in the subject, as he was himself (according to his own statement) the author of nineteen Miracle Plays, four of which were printed in his lifetime, and two were publicly acted on Sunday in Kilkenny, by the youths of the town.¹ Bale and his Plays were a potent factor in the Reformation, but he is quite silent as regards Higden.²

In the year 1532 we find the citizens of Chester preparing for a performance, and the Mayor issuing a proclamation on the subject. It has been suggested that this was due to the stimulus afforded by the performance of a Morality Play in London. From the description of it given by Hall the historian, I consider it was not a Morality Play at all, but a Masque, one of the many Masques acted at that period, in which the King took pleasure, and sometimes took part.³ At all events, no explanation has been given us of the connection between London and Chester on this matter, and I do not think Chester needed any stimulus from outside.

¹ Bale's "King John" will be found in Pollard's "English Miracle Plays."

² It is true that Bale had an erroneous idea that Higden had filched the "Polychronicon" from another monkish writer, and was not, therefore, favourably disposed towards Higden; but I do not think he would be guilty of a deliberate *suppressio veri*.

³ Since writing this, I am confirmed in my opinion by the following remarks of Professor Morley in "Ben Jonson's Masques," Introduction, p. x. (Carisbrooke Library Edition): "In design, the following interlude, *described by Hall* as part of the performance of Henry the VIII.'s Court, in May, 1527, set forth in a costly banqueting house designed and built for the occasion, *differs no otherwise from the general conception of a Masque* in James the First's reign, than in being acted for amusement of the company by the Children of the Chapel." [The Italics are mine. — J.C.B.]

In addition to the ordinary series of Miracle Plays, we find that the Play of the "Assumption" was performed at the High Cross in 1488, and before Prince Arthur in 1497, both at the Abbey Gates and at the High Cross; and also in 1515 in St. John's Churchyard. We find, also, the Cappers, Pewterers, and Smiths undertaking Plays in 1520-1; and in 1529 "King Robert of Sicily" had been performed at the High Cross.¹

The fact is, the whole country was given up to Plays of this sort, and we know of more than 40 places, towns and villages, which enjoyed these entertainments. The Annual Play at Wymonham (or Windham) in Norfolk, lasted two days and two nights; and the inhabitants of Lydd, in Kent, were so keen that they went to the Play on a Sunday, while watchmen were paid to keep guard on the shore against a surprise from the French.²

If the trade gilds showed any desire to shirk such representations, the Mayor could, and did, issue a notice commanding a performance;³ and it was also the Mayor's duty, as officer of the King's peace, to issue proclamations on all festive occasions of this sort.⁴

The ordinances of the Mayor of York, in 1394 and subsequently, show that the regulations to control the Plays and populace were most stringent and comprehensive.

I see nothing remarkable, therefore, in a proclamation concerning the Plays being issued at Chester in 1532;

¹ Morris, "Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Period," p. 322 he also gives 1377 as another date of the "Assumption" Play, but I cannot trace the authority for this. See also Lyson's "Cheshire," p. 595.

² Green, "Town Life in XV. Century," p. 148.

³ See petition of Cappers at Chester, quoted by Morris, p. 316.

⁴ Toulmin Smith's "English Gilds," p. 427.

but as the document, *in itself*, is remarkable, I must quote it *in extenso* :—

“ For as moche as of old tyme, not only for the Augmentacon & increase of (the holy & catholick) faith of our Saviour, Jhu’ Crist, and to extort the mynds of the com’on people to (good devotion & holsome) doctryne thereof, but also for the com’on wealth & prosperitie of this Citie a plaie (and declaration —) and diverse stories of the bible, begynning with the creacon & fall of Lucifer, & (ending with the general) jugement of the World, to be declared & plaied in the Witson week, was devised (and made by one Sir) Henry Fraunces, sometyme monk of this dissolved monastery, who obtayned & gate of Clement, then beyng (bushop of Rome, a thousand) daies of pardon, & of the Busshop of Chester at that time beyng, XLti daies of pardon graunted from thensforth to every person resortyng in pecible manner with good devotion to here & se the sayd (plaies) from tyme to tyme as oft as they shalbe plaied within this Citie (& that every person disturbing the same plaies in any mapner wise to be accursed by thanctoritie of the said Pope Clements bulls unto such tyme as he or they be absolved thereof (*erased*,) which plaies were devised to the honour of God by John Arneway, then Maire of this Citie of Chester, & his brethen & holl Cominalty thereof to be brought forth, declared & plead at the costs & charges of the craftsmen & occupacons of the said Citie, which hitherunto have from tyme to tyme used & performed the same accordingly.”

[*On another sheet*].

“ The Proclamacion of the Plaie to be Satreday after the election newly also and of laten into Englishe translated & made by the said William Newhall the yere aforsaid.”

Pennant suggested (and the suggestion has been adopted by many writers since) that “These Plays had probably been dropt for a considerable time; which occasioned the proclamation in the reign of that pageant-loving Prince, Henry VIII. Forty-three years had elapsed since the last performance of this nature,

when the *Assumption of our Lady* was played before his brother *Arthur*, at the gates of the City."¹

I do not think this is correct, as my references already show; but it seems plain that this was an *old* proclamation, which had been shelved for a number of years, and that William Newall, anxious as a "new broom" to "sweep clean," had taken the trouble to translate it, and so make it intelligible to the common people. Perhaps, indeed, he revised it.²

Here I must turn aside for one moment, to say that I was much surprised to see that Canon Morris states: "No argument against the earlier date suggested can be founded in the phraseology of the Plays in their present form, as they are *confessedly translations from the Latin*, and were certainly more than once amended." He bases his opinion, mainly, on this last statement and endorsement; but I am convinced that he is wrong, and that the translation refers to the Proclamation and not to the Plays. I have, however, already treated this question of language.³

We find a similar proclamation at York, beginning and ending in Latin, but translated in the middle:—"Proclamatio ludi Corporis Cristi facienda in vigilia Corporis Cristi." It is then in English until the last sentence, which runs thus:—"And that every player that shall play be ready in his pagiaunt at convenyant tyme, that is to say, at the mydhowre betwix iiijth &

¹ Pennant's "Tour in Wales," I., p. 178.

² In the Chester copy, the clauses as to excommunication, which had become obsolete and offensive (and which add further proof to its antiquity), have been erased, but whether by Newall, or a later scribe, we do not know.

³ Wright, in his Introduction to the Chester Plays (p. xiv.), seems to think that Plays were performed in French in the 13th Century, but not afterwards.

vth of the cloke in the mornynge, and then all oyer pageantz fast follouying ilk one after oyer as yer course is, without tarieng. Sub pena facienda camere vis viiid.”¹

We have, then, in this Chester Proclamation, an official document of about 1500, in which our city authorities assert, most plainly and emphatically, that these Plays owe their origin to Arneway, a former Mayor, and Francis, a monk in the Monastery.

Now these men were not notorious writers like Higden—indeed it is only in recent periods that we have found evidence that they really existed—and it seems most unlikely that their names should have been kept so fresh and green in the memory of the city unless there was a solid basis for the old tradition.

Under the copy of this Proclamation in the Harleian MSS. (2013), at the British Museum, the third Randal Holme (or according to another entry in the Catalogue, the *second*) has written: “Sir Jo. Arnway maior 1329 & 1328 at wh tyme these Playes were written by Randal Higgenett a monk of Chester Abby & played openly in the Whitson week.” This entry is by most writers placed in 1628.

You will observe, therefore, that Randal Holme is 100 years later in his assertion than the City Proclamation; that he is quite wrong as to the dates when Arneway was Mayor; and that he supposed the Plays always to have been at Whitsuntide. I don’t think we can attach much importance to this entry.

Before the Plays commenced it was customary to send mounted messengers round the city, who read the

¹ Smith, “York Plays,” Introduction, p. 34.

"Banes" or "Banns" announcing the Plays. Canon Morris has printed a copy of these Banes from the Harleian Collection, which is of the *greatest* importance, and deserves far more attention than it has received, for it is obvious that it is very old. No date is given, but by the style and orthography I think we must put it well back into the 15th Century—at least back to 1470.

Canon Morris has a note that this copy of the Banes has been overlooked by all previous editors. This is true, and it remains even now unknown, I fancy, to German critics and other commentators on the Plays. It is a most valuable "*find*" and deserves your attention. I must quote three verses:—

The worshipfull wyves of this towne
Ffyne our Lady thassumpcon
It to bryng forth they be bowne
And meyntene with all their might.¹

Here we have "The Assumption" definitely classed as one of the Chester series (a point unknown to critics), and also, we see that it was provided by women; this is unique, I think. In none of the other cycle centres do the women manage a Play by themselves.²

¹ It is worth noting, that in 1483, at York, four men came before the Mayor, " & by the assent of all the Inholders of this said Citie, tuke upon them to bring furth yerely during the term of VIII. yere, then next folluying the pagent of the Coronacion of our Lady pertheyning to the said Inholders, etc." It seems likely, then, that the "worshipful wyves" were the ale-wives of Chester, and it is by no means improbable that Chester again followed the lead of York. But as Mrs. Green says, "Cooks and brewers and hostellers were naturally deeply interested in the preservation of the good old customs, and it was, in some cases, certainly this class (the most powerful in a mediæval borough), who raised the protest against the indifference and neglect of the townspeople for public processions and merry-making, because 'thereby the victuallers lose their money'; and who insisted on the revival of these festivals for the encouragement of trade." (Town Life XV. Century, I., p. 153).

² Canon Morris says: "It is omitted from Bellin's transcript in 1600, and was, in all probability, discontinued in Edward VI.'s reign, in deference to the religious feeling of the time."

My second quotation is equally important :—

“ Also Maister Maire of this Citie
 Withall his bretheryn accordingly
 A solempte procession ordent hath he
 To be done to the best
 Uppon the day of Corpus Christi
 The blessed Sacrament carried shalbe
 And a Play set forth by the Clergy,
 In honor of the fest.
 Many torches there may you see
 Marchaunts & craftys of this Citie
 By order passing in their degree
 A goodly sight that day.
 They come from Saynt Maries on the Hill
 The Church of Saynt Johns untill
 And there the Sacrament leve they will
 The Sauth as I you say.”

From this we see that the Mayor and Corporation had ordered a procession, and that the clergy had actually undertaken to provide a Play. May not this account for the transference of the Gild Plays to Whitsun-week? The clergy, anxious to have the Corpus Christi procession to themselves,¹ and without the addition of the Trade Gilds, may have said to the citizens: “If you will have your Plays on another day, we will, at our own charge and expense, undertake to provide a Play on Corpus Christi, so that there shall be no loss to the citizens in that respect.”² Thus the Plays got transferred to Whitsun-week.

¹ It meant getting the people *into Church* and making a large sum from the sale of Indulgences.

² This is precisely what happened at York. Up to 1426, both the procession of Corpus Christi and the Plays had been on the same day, but the “professor of holy pageantry” before-mentioned persuaded the citizens to separate them. The procession was taken on the *Eve* of Corpus Christi, but the Plays were still held on the day itself, the citizens preferring to change the date of procession rather than the date of the Plays.

My third quotation is :—

“Sir John Arnway was Maire of this citie
When these Playes were begun truly
God grant us merely
And see theym many a yere.”

Here we have the *earliest* definite statement as to the origin of the Plays ; Arnway was Mayor 1268-76.

The next document I must call your attention to is a copy of the Banes, by George Bellin, endorsed—

*“The Banes which are reade beefore the beginninge of the Playes of Chester, 4 June 1600.”*¹

Reverende lordes & ladyes all,
That at this tyme here assembled bee,
By this message understand you shall
That some tymes thre was Mayor of this Citie
Sir John Arnway, Knighte, who most worthilye
Contented hymselfe to sett out in playe
The devise of one Done Rondall, moonke of Chester Abbey.
This moonke, moonke-like, in Scriptures well seene,
In storyes travilled with the beste sorte,
In pagentes set fourth apparently to all eyne
The olde & newe testament, with livelye comforth,
Interminglinge therewith, only to make sporte,
Some thinges not warranted by any writt,
Which to gladd the hearers he woulde men to take yt.
This matter he abrevited into playes twenty-foure,
And every playe of the matter gave but a taste,
Leavinge for better learninge the scircumstance to accomlishe;
For all his proceedinges maye appeare to be in haste,
Yet all together unprofitable his labour he did not waste;
For at this daye & ever he deserveth the fame
Which all monkes deserves, professinge that name.
These storyes of the Testamente at this tyme, you knowe,
In a common Englishe tongue never read nor harde;

¹ I do not think there was any performance in 1600 ; I can find no proof that such took place. Perhaps an intended performance did not come off, or Bellin merely meant the date of the copying. See Lyson's "Cheshire," p. 593.

Yet thereof in these pagentes to make open shewe,
 This moonke & moonke was nothing afreayde,
 With feare of hanginge, breninge, or cutting off heade,
 To sett out, that all maye disserne & see
 And parte good be lefte, beleeeve you mee.

* * * * *

This worthy Knighte, Arnway, then mayor of this Citie,
 This order took, as declare to you I shall,
 That by twenty-fower occupations, artes, crafts, or misterie,
 These pagentes shoulde be played, after breeffe rehearsall;
 For everye pagente a cariage to be provyded withall;
 In which sorte we porpose, this Whitsontyde,
 Our pageantes into three partes to devyde.

Now this is clearly not a composition of the year 1600. It was composed, evidently, at a time when many had grave doubts as to the propriety of the Plays, for the writer is very apologetic, and begs you to remember that they were "written by a monk of old time to instruct the people in the English Scriptures where no Bible was to be heard and read."

This is the first time Done Randall is mentioned. Note that the surname of Higden is not used, and that Sir John Arneway is still considered as the organiser.

The Plays had been inhibited, but ineffectually, by Archbishop Grindal in 1571, and this "Banes" dates, I fancy, from about that period. It had undoubtedly been heard and noted by Archdeacon Rogers in 1574, when he saw the Plays, for he paraphrases it thus:—

"These Plays were the worke of one Randall Higden a Monke of Chester Abbey, whoe in a good devotion translated the Bible into several partes & l'plays, so as the common people might learne the same by their playing; & also by action in their sighte, & the first time they were played, was in the time of Sir John Arneway about the first year of his maroltie about A.D. 1328; we must judge this Monke had no evil intention, but secret devotion therein; soe also the Citizens that did acte & practice the same to their great coste."

This is one edition of Rogers' MS.; but there is another version, quoted by Ormerod :—

“The Author of them

The matter & first inventer of them was one Randoll a Monke in the Abbey of Chester who did translate the same into Englishe make them into partes & pagiantes as they were then played.

The matter of them

The matter of them was the History of the Bible mixed with some other matters.

The first time played

The time they weare first set forthe & played was in Anno 1339 Sir John Arneway being Mayor of Chester.”¹

Rogers saw the Plays in 1574, and wrote his account shortly afterwards, but which of the two I have given you is the original version I do not know. You will observe that in the one he is made to speak of “one Randle Higden.” If this be genuine, it is the *first mention of Higden by name* in connection with the Plays.² In the other he simply says “one Randall a monke.”

Ormerod takes this latter as the correct version, but notices the difference in dates :—

“This date of 1339 is altered to 1328 in the Chester copy of Rogers' MSS. As the date of the year varies in all the different copies of MSS. which have occurred, it will not be easy to quote any one with certainty ; but, as far as Rogers' authority goes, to take for the first time of acting one of the Mayoralties of Sir John Arneway, which lay, according to the received list of Mayors, between 1268 and 1273.”

In the MS. of the Plays, written by James Miller about 1607 (Harl. 2124), in the inside of the original

¹ Ormerod, I.

² And doubtless was the authority for Randle Holmes' note, already mentioned.

vellum cover there is the following note in a different handwriting to the MS., probably one of the Holmes.

“The Whitsun Playes first made by one Don Randle Higgenet, a Monke of Chester Abbey, who was thrice at Rome before he could obtain leave of the Pope to have them in the English tongue. The Whitsun Plays were played openly in pageants by the Cittizens of Chester in Whitsun week. Nicholas the Fifth then was Pope (in the year of our Lord 1447). Sir Henry Francis sometye a monke of the Monestery of Chester obtained of Pope Clemens a 1000 daies of pardon, & of the Bishop of Chester 40 daies pardon for every person that resorted peaceably to see the same Plays, & that every person that distrusted the same to be accursed by the said Pope until such time as they should be absolved thereof.”

Ormerod thinks this is, perhaps, the earliest instance of Randle Higden being stated to be the author.¹

These allusions to Higden, Arneway, and Francis, slumbered peacefully until the middle of the 18th Century, when Warton, in his “History of Poetry,” wrote:

“There is the greatest probability that Ralph Higden hitherto known as a grave historian and theologist was the compiler of the Chester Plays . . . In one of the Harleian copies (2013, I.), under the *Proclamation* for performing these Plays in the year 1522, this note occurs, in the hand of the third Randal Holme, of the Chester Antiquaries: ‘Sir John Arneway was Mayor A.D. 1327 & 1328, at which tyme these Playes were written by Randal Higgenet a Monke of Chester Abbey, etc.’ In a Prologue of these Plays, when they were performed in the year 1600, are these lines:—

‘That sometymes there was mayor of this Citie
Sir John Arnway Knight; who most worthilie
Contented hymself to set out in playe

The devise of one Done Rondall, Moonke of Chester Abbaye.’

Done Rondall is Don (Dominus) Randall. In another of the Harleian copies of these Plays, written in the year 1607, this

¹ It is not the earliest, if the *first* version of Archdeacon Rogers’ MS. is taken as correct. See *ante* p. 83.

note appears, seemingly written in the year 1628 (MSS. Harl. 2124):—‘The Whitsun Playes first made by one Don Randle Heggenett, a monke of Chester Abbey; who was thrice at Rome before he could obtaine leave of the Pope to have them in the English tongue.’”

Warton adds a little later:—

“In *Piers Plowman* a frier says, that he is well acquainted with the Rimes of Randal of Chester. I take this passage to allude to this very person & to his Compositions of this kind for which he was probably soon famous.”

Ritson the antiquary, in speaking of the songs about Robin Hood, quotes the lines referred to by Warton:—

“I can rimes of Robin Hood & Randal of Chester,
But of our Lord & our Lady I lerne nothing at all”;

and adds:—

“This Randal of Chester was Randal Blundeville, the third & last Earl of that name, and not Randal Higden, the monk & chronicler, as Mr. Warton idly supposes.”

There was a general consensus of opinion that Ritson was right, and that these lines referred to the bold and truculent Earl of Chester—“Hellfire” as he was called—whose deeds were thought worthy to be mentioned with those of Robin Hood.

The latest edition of Skeat disposes of this point once and for ever, for the reading given is:—

“I can rymes of Robin Hood & Randolf, Erle of Chester.”
Vol. I., p. 167.

In the Harleian Catalogue, which was begun by H. Wanley, and is dated 1759, there is, in reference to the Proclamation of 1532, this note:—

“This Randall might be Hikeden or Higden for ought I know.”

This completes the direct documentary evidence connecting Higden with the Plays. We have then:—

- i. A "Banes," *c.* 1470, giving Arneway as the "deviser";
- ii. A Proclamation, *c.* 1520, giving Arneway as the "deviser," and Francis, a monk, as the writer;
- iii. A "Banes," *c.* 1570, giving Arneway as "deviser," and a "Dom Randall" as the writer;
- iv. A MS. account of the Plays, by Archdeacon Rogers, *c.* 1575; one version gives "Randall Higden" as the writer, and places the time in the Mayoralty of Arneway, 1328; the other version gives "one Randoll a monke," Arneway as Mayor, and the date 1339;
- v. An endorsement on a Proclamation in the Harleian MSS., supposed to be written by one of the Holmes', *c.* 1628, stating "Hignet" was the writer;
- vi. A similar endorsement on a copy of the Plays of about the same date.

I think this is a very slender foundation on which to base a positive statement that Higden is the author of the Plays. However, I have tried to place before you, fairly and clearly, the whole evidence, direct and indirect, and you must draw your own conclusions.

PART III.—THE OPINIONS OF EXPERTS.

I now turn to the last point in connection with Higden; the opinions of literary authorities who have made a study of the Plays, as their verdict must carry

great weight. As the Chester and Cheshire historians copy a great deal from one another, I need only quote one writer from that group, and shall take Ormerod.¹ He says :—

“It is obvious, then, that Randle, Monke of Chester Abbey said to be the author of Plays acted between 1268 and 1273 could not be the person with whom late antiquaries have confounded him, namely Ralph Higden or Hignet, also Monk of Chester Abbey, compiler of the Polychronicon, whose death, though variously dated, has been generally fixed either ten years before or after 1367. The identity of a name unusual in most parts of England, joined to identity of place, may have misled many; but it must be remembered that the christian name of the greatest of the Earls was likely to be of very frequent occurrence within the walls of Chester Abbey. The early authorities, such as Rogers, the Prologue, etc., all give the Plays to a Randle, but it will be observed that none of them speak of Randle Higden. Whether the reader will place this Randle between 1268 and 1273, or in what century he will place him, must be left to his own opinion, founded on the collation of metre, style, and orthography, and on many other collateral points beyond the scope of this work.”

Ormerod then goes on to say that :—

“The name of Sir Henry Francis occurs in deeds dated 1377-1382, and the Pope alluded to must have been Clement VI. This confirmation of an important part of the tradition, added to previous confirmations respecting the existence and time of Sir John Arneway, will, to most minds, go far towards establishing the entire story relative to the high antiquity of these performances. Persons are mentioned in it of whom the narrator knew nothing—beyond what tradition told—and when deeds and chronicles are recovered relative to the time mentioned, we find these very persons acting in offices, time, and place, which the tradition asserted.”

This is sound argument, but it tells more strongly in favour of Arneway and Francis than of Higden.

¹ Ormerod, “History of Cheshire,” I., 383.

I think Ormerod's treatment of the matter excellent in every respect.

Wright, the editor of the Miracle Plays, says :—

"My own impression, from the phraseology and forms of words which may frequently be discovered in the blunders of the modern scribes, is that the original MS. from which they were copied was of the earlier part of the 15th or of the end of the 14th Century. The traditions adopted or imagined by some old Chester Antiquaries, which carried the composition of these Plays so far back as the mayoralty of John Arneway (1268 to 1276), and the supposition of Warton that they were the productions of Ralph Higden the chronicler, appear to me too improbable to deserve our serious consideration, unless they were founded on more authentic statements or on more substantial arguments."¹

The editor of the Polychronicon, in the Rolls series, says in the preface to the work, that Higden's name appears as Higgenett: "that is to say if Randall Higgenet the Monk of Chester, author of the Miracle Plays, be the same person; of which, as Warton says, not without reason, 'there is the greatest probability.'" Further on, however, in the preface, he says that :—

"We have no details of his personal history, except that we are told (but on very doubtful authority) that one Don Rondle Heggenet thrice visited Rome in order to obtain leave of the Pope, that the Miracle Plays, of which he was the author, should be acted 'in the English tongue' at Chester. They were eventually acted in the Mayoralty of Sir John Arnway (A.D. 1327-1328). . . From A.D. 1309, during a period of 70 years, which was termed the Babylonian captivity, the Pope resided at Avignon, and that without interruption so far as we are aware. A grave suspicion, therefore, attaches to the whole story, which rests upon a note written in a Harl. MS. in 1628. Moreover, it is not absolutely certain that Higgenet and Higden are the same person."²

¹ "The Chester Plays," edited by Thomas Wright for the Shakesperian Society, Vol. I., Introduction, p. 16.

² Introduction, p. 9, *et seq.*

Mrs. Sandford, in her Paper on the Miracle Plays, says :—

“Here, I think, is the key to the whole difficulty. Randle Higgenett (whom Warton has tried, but I think on *insufficient grounds*, to identify with Ralph Higden of the Polychronicon) did indeed ‘reduce’ the Chester Plays into English metre, not indeed as a composer, but as a translator. . . . There can be very little doubt that the Chester Mysteries were at one time performed in French,¹ for even now we here and there come across untranslated bits, which, by the pens of many generations of copyists who were ignorant of that language, have, it is true, been robbed of all intelligible meaning, but are as unmistakably French as ever. We have, besides, to notice a remarkable similarity—sometimes it almost amounts to word for word—between some of the Chester Plays and some of the corresponding Plays in an old French collection known as the ‘Mystères du vieil Testament,’ which is much too exact and striking to be passed over as accidental.”²

Professor Henry Morley does not directly go into the question of authorship, but says: “The metres of the Wakefield Plays are more various and irregular than those of the Chester or Coventry series”; and “it is evident, also, that the Wakefield Plays are *not, as those of the other sets appear to be*, the production of one wit.”³

From this it is evident that he believes the Chester series may have come from *one* hand. He adds, that “if Higden *did* go three times to Rome to get leave to write them in the language of the people, then we may assume that these holy-day entertainments were comparatively new in English during Chaucer’s childhood. *But there was no reason why the Pope’s leave should be*

¹ Mrs. Sandford adds, in a foot-note, “It is right to say that this is questioned by some authorities.” I have alluded to this point in the earlier part of this lecture.

² “The Chester Mysteries,” by Mrs. Henry R. P. Sandford, in the Queen’s School Annual, May, 1898, published by Phillipson & Golder Chester.

³ Morley, “English Writers,” p. 101.

asked upon the matter; and no doubt, in England as in France, the people had their Miracle Plays represented to them in their own language for at least three generations before Chaucer."¹

Another great authority, Mr. A. W. Pollard, says:—²

"Chester. According to statements made at the end of the 16th Century, in Banes or Proclamation of the Chester Plays, this great cycle dates in some form from the mayoralty of John Arneway (1268-1276). Its composition is attributed to 'Randal Higgenett a monk of Chester Abby,' and the story is confused by the assignment of Arneway's term of office to the years 1327-28. An attempt has been made to reconcile these statements, by supposing that the Plays were originally acted in French, at the earlier of the two dates, and that 'Randal Higgenett'—who has been somewhat rashly identified with Ralph Higden, the chronicler—subsequently translated them into English.

"The theory is supported by some minor evidence, but is discredited by the language of the Plays, and by the relations in which they stand to other cycles. It was probably not in the West but in the East Midlands that Miracle Plays were first acted in English, though we may assign the probable date of their first performance to a period very little later than the mayoralty of Sir John Arneway.

"Of the origin of the Chester cycle something has already been said, and a short account of the extant MSS. will be found in the notes to the two extracts here printed. The MSS. are all of them late, but they appear to be based on a text of the beginning of the 15th Century; the composition of the cycle probably dates from some fifty or sixty years earlier. The fame of cycles appears to have spread to Chester and to have awakened the ambition of a local playwright. *As regards metre and form the cycle shows exceptional unity.* It is mainly written in eight-line stanzas, the author (as Dr. Hohl-feld points out) at the beginning of each play, making a manful attempt to content himself with two rimes (aaabaaab), but soon drifting into the use of three (aaabcccb). In some

¹ Morley, "English Writers," p. 70.

² "English Miracle Plays," A. W. Pollard, Introduction, p. xxi.

of the Chester Plays (notably in that of Jesus in the Temple) we can trace the influence of the Yorkshire cycles; and the Play on the Sacrifice of Isaac was borrowed either from, or from the same original as, the Brome Play, printed by Miss Toulmin Smith. But if it be true, as Professor Ten Brink suggests, that the Chester cycle is both less important and *less original* than those of York and Woodkirk, and that its best, both of pathos and humour, *appears to be borrowed*, it must be allowed, on the other hand, that its author was possessed of an unusual share of good taste. There is less in the Chester Plays to jar on modern feelings than *in any other of the cycles*. The humour is kept more within bounds; the religious tone is far higher; and though the Plays are not spoilt by any obtrusive didacticism, such as we find in the Coventry cycle, the speeches of the expositor at the end of each Play, show that a real effort was made to serve the religious object to which all Miracle Plays were ostensibly directed. On a comparison of the contents of this cycle with that of York, we note that fresh subjects are introduced in the histories of Lot and of Balaam in the Play on Ezekiel, which contains prophecies of the End of the World, and the Fifteen Signs of Doom, and in the very curious embodiment of the mediæval legends on the Coming of Antichrist. On the other hand, there is no Play of the Exodus; the Plays on the history of the Blessed Virgin are represented only by a 'Salutation' and the Nativity of Christ (in the course of which the Emperor Octavian is introduced giving his orders for all the world to be taxed), and there is no Play on the Assumption.¹

"Like those of York, the Chester Plays were enacted by the members of the Trade-Gilds; not, however, on the feast of Corpus Christi, but at Whitsuntide."

Dr. W. Marriott, in his "*Collection of English Miracle Plays*," *Basle* 1838, says:—²

"It is not, perhaps, to be disputed that Higden was in some way, and at some period, concerned in the Chester Miracle

¹ This is incorrect, but is due to the fact (stated previously) that the Banes printed by Canon Morris are unknown to commentators.

² Introduction, p. xxxix.

Plays; though in what way is not so clear. He may have made several additions, though it is, perhaps, more probable that he only translated them.

"A note to one of the MSS.¹ of these productions informs us that Higden 'was thrice at Rome before he could obtain leave of the Pope to have them in the English tongue'; and a remark appended to another one states that these Plays were written by him in 1328.² The only way, however, of explaining in any satisfactory manner the mention of John Arnway and Randall in 'the Banes,' is to consider the latter as the translator, and that they were previously performed in the mayoralty of the former."

Hone, (*"Ancient Mysteries,"* p. 201), referring to the Chester Plays, says:—

"It is related in the Museum MS. of these Chester Plays, that the author 'was thrice at Rome before he could obtain leave of the Pope to have them in the English tongue'; from which fact, Warton thinks 'a presumptive proof arises that all our Mysteries before that period were in Latin; these Plays will, therefore, have the merit of being the first *English* interludes.' After the well-known fondness of our ancestors for shows, it is too much, perhaps, to say that on their Church festivals and occasions of public rejoicing they had no interludes in English; seeing, too, that one hundred and fifty years before Fitzstephen expressly declares that our theatrical representations in London were of a religious character. These must have been in English to have been understood; and so must the Miracle Play of St. Catherine in 1110, if, as was probably the case, it was publicly performed on some feast day. . . . What could occasion the author of the Chester Plays to take a journey thrice to Rome before he could obtain leave of the Pope to have them in the *English* tongue? The *subjects* of these Plays 'from the Old and New Testament,' seem to me to supply the reason for the difficulty in obtaining the Pope's consent.

"Scripture in English had been scrupulously withheld from the people, and the Pope, probably, anticipated that if they

¹ Harleian MS., No. 2124.

² Harleian MS., No. 2013.

were made acquainted with a portion of it, the remainder would be demanded; while the author of the Plays, better acquainted than the Pope with the more immediate difficulty of altogether repressing the curiosity that had been excited towards it, conceived, perhaps, that the growing desire might be delayed by distorted and confusing representations of certain portions."

Hone then quotes the well-known passage where Noah's wife refuses to enter the ark, and adds:—

"Such corruptions and absurdities, seconded by the eloquence of their author, might abate the papal fears concerning the appearance of these *scriptural* interludes in *English*, and finally obtain the sanction for their performance."

It will be seen that Hone had a very poor idea of the motives of the writer of these Plays, and that he accuses him, monk though he might be, of deliberately trying to mislead the people by distorting the Scripture!¹

From these quotations you will see that our leading authorities are not inclined to accept the "Higden" theory.

I now turn to an entirely different point of interest, which naturally appeals to me as a musician.

PART IV.—MUSIC AND THE MIRACLE PLAYS.

We may be sure that music played no inconsiderable part in these old Plays, especially in Chester, where the Gild of Minstrels was one of the most important and powerful in the country.

¹ Whether deliberate or not, it is strange to find a *monk* making Noah swear by "St. John," and committing other anachronisms of the same kind. This is, however, not peculiar to the Chester Plays, but runs through all the cycles.

Early in the first Play—"The Fall of Lucifer"—we find the Archangels saying:—

"Heare for to byde God grante us grace
To please this prince withouten peare
Hym for to thanke with some solace
A song now lett us singe in feare."

A note in the margin says: "A songe '*Dignus Dei*.'"

In "The Creation and Fall" we have a great deal of instrumental music, and some of it used in a remarkable way. The following are "stage directions":—"Then the Creator bringeth Adam into Paradise, before the tree of knowledge, and saith." [marginal note] *mynstrelles playinge*; again, after the Fall: "*God shall speake and mynstrelles playing*;" again, "*God shall drive Adam and Eve out of Parradice, and saye to the angelles, and mynstrelles shall playe*"; and lastly, Adam, after the expulsion from Paradise, recites (in a long speech) a marvellous dream that he has had; and the marginal note to this speech is "*minstrelles playinge*."

In these last three cases it certainly seems that recitation and instrumental music were combined.

It would be easy, in Chester, to command the services of skilled players; but such a combination must have been unusual, and if these be the *original* stage directions, it is certainly one of the earliest instances, if not *the* earliest instance, of accompanied declamation.

In the next Play, "Noah's Flood," we have a splendid drinking song, sung by Noah's wife and her two "gossips":—¹

"The flude comes flittinge in full faste
One everye syde that spreades full farre
For fear of drowning I am agaste
Good gossippes let us draw near."

¹ The part of Noah's wife would be played by a boy or man, and the parts for the trio would probably be S.T.B., as in the Coventry Plays.

And lett us drinke or we departe
 For ofte tymes we have done so
 For att a draughte thou drinkest a quarte
 And so will I doe ere I goe.
 Heare is a pottill¹ [full of malmsine]² good & stronge
 Itt will rejoyce both hart and tongue
 Though Noye thinks us never so longe
 Here will we drinke alike."

We must all deeply regret that the music of this trio is not extant.

In the "Shepherds" Play, Troule, the boy, says:—

"Sing we nowe, lettes see
 Some song will I assaye
 All men now sing after me
 For musicke of me learn you maie."

Direction in the margin is "Sing trolly trolly trolly lo," which at that time was a popular "burden" or chorus.

In "The Three Kings," we have the instruction:—"Heare the messenger goeth to the Kinge, and the mynstrilles must plaie."

In the remainder of the Plays music is never mentioned. This is a curious fact, but I think the explanation is that some of the Plays were copied from originals, with *full stage instructions*, while others were taken from less perfect copies.

We have other evidence to prove that in the 16th Century the citizens were not slow to avail themselves of the musical staff of the neighbouring monastery.

¹ A Pottill held two quarts, hence the relevancy of the two preceding lines.

² These words, which spoil the rhythm, were perhaps added at a later period. Malmsine was much in request in the 16th Century. May not the *whole song* be an interpolation? It may have been written for, and sung by, "Mr. White" and the "two clarks from the minster." I merely throw this out as a suggestion—see *infra*, p. 96.

The following items are taken from the Harleian MSS., by Canon Morris:—¹

1554.	To the Minstrells in mane (manu) - -	ii ^s .
1561.	Spent in Sir Rand. Barnes ² chamber to gett singers - - - - -	iiid.
	To Wm. Lutter (minstrell) at general rehearse - - - - -	iiid.
	To Sir Jo. Jenson ³ for songes - - -	xiid.
	To the five boys singing ⁴ - - -	ii ^s . vid.
1567.	To two of the clarkes of the minster -	viiid.
	For carriage of the Regalls ⁵ - - -	iid.
	To Mr. Whyte - - - - -	iiis.
1568.	To Mr. Rand. Barnes - - - - -	iiis. ivd.
	To Mr. Whyte for singing - - -	iiis.
1569.	Minstrells for our pageant - - -	iiis. ivd.
	For the clergy for our songes - - -	iiis. iid.

"Mr. Whyte" was organist of the Cathedral, and I have reason to think that he was a very eminent and clever musician.⁶ He certainly received more remuneration for his services than the rest of the hired musicians. May it not be possible that he composed the music for the "Drinking Trio" for Noah's wife and her "gossips," and that he himself sang it, together with the "two clarks from the Minster," and that, as I have said before, the words were also specially written for the occasion?⁷

¹ "Chester during the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods," pp. 305, *et seq.*

² It must be remembered that the Minster or Monastery had been turned into a Cathedral by Henry VIII., in 1541. Randal Barnes was a Minor Canon.

³ John Jenson was Senior Minor Canon.

⁴ There were eight Choristers at the Minster or Cathedral.

⁵ A portable kind of organ.

⁶ I believe *Master White*, Organist of Westminster Abbey 1560; *Robert White*, Organist of Ely Cathedral 1562-7; *Master White*, Organist of Chester Cathedral 1567; and *Robert White*, Organist of Westminster Abbey 1570, were one and the same person, but I cannot absolutely prove this at present.

⁷ See *supra*, p. 95.

It was probably due to his influence and co-operation that the Cathedral authorities joined in the preparations for the Plays, as appears from the following extracts, which I have taken from the Cathedral Treasurer's Accounts :—¹

1567. Item Paid for a brode clothe againste the Witson plaies - - - -	vi ^s . vii ^{id} .
Item for a barell of bere to gene ^s to the pleares to make them to drinke -	vi ^s .
Item for packe thread at Witson daye to hange up the clothe ^s - - -	ii ^d .

There is a little music in the York Plays, but it is not very interesting, so far as it can be deciphered.

There is none left in the Wakefield Plays, but there evidently was a great deal of a most interesting character, if we may judge from the stage directions; and the writer of some of the Plays must have been an educated musician, from the musical terms which he uses.

In the Coventry Plays we have two gems, which you shall hear. They are endorsed :—

"These Songes Belonge to the Taylors & Shearemens Pageant; the first & the last the Shepheards sing, and the second or middlemost the women sing."

The lullaby, here allotted to women, is written for a treble, tenor, and bass, thus proving, if proof were needed, that women did not perform in the Plays.

¹ By kind permission of the Dean and Chapter, I have carefully examined the Treasurer's Accounts, which date from 1541-2, but these are the *only* entries relating to the Witson Plays.

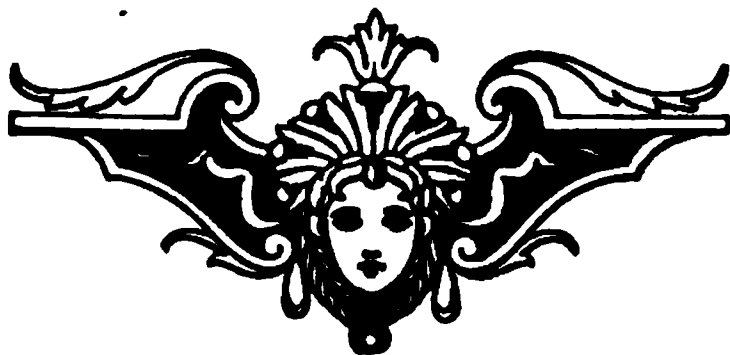
² ANOLO-SAXON *gene* = to compel, invite.

³ As the "Brode Clothe" was hung up, it may have been used in the "Creation" Play. "Then shall be shown a painted cloth, that is to say the half white and the other black." To symbolize Light and Darkness; or it may have been used to cover the lower part of the "Pageant," wherein "Mr. White" and the other players would dress.

It will be noticed that throughout my Paper I use the title "Miracle Plays." This is the only title used in old England. It is believed that Dodsley, about 1750, was the first to apply the French name of "Mysteries." It is true that abroad there was a distinction drawn between Plays on the Miracles of the Saints and Mysteries drawn from the Bible narrative, but this division did not exist in this country. Therefore, let us call the Chester series the "Chester Miracle Plays."

The boys and gentlemen of the Cathedral Choir then sang the following music from the "Coventry Plays"—

1. Lullaby: "Lullay, thou little tiny child."
2. Trio: "As I out rode this enderes night."



The South Transept of Chester Cathedral ✓

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A.,

ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(Read March 31st, 1902)

THE story of this great South Transept—this unique feature of our Cathedral—has often been told, and must be familiar to most of you. I will content myself with a brief epitome of it.

Originally, the South Transept was of the same size and character as that on the north. When the monks of the 14th Century were anxious to extend the proportions of their Church, and to erect Chapels dedicated to particular Saints, they found it impossible to do this towards the north, as the monastic buildings abutted closely on the Church on that side. They must, therefore, enlarge towards the south. Here their progress was barred by the Parish Church of S. Oswald (if, indeed, it bore that title at that time); but a way out of this difficulty was simple, namely, the erection of another Church, in close proximity, for the use of the parishioners. Whether this was done before or after the building of the Transept it is, perhaps, not possible to say with any certainty, and opinions seem to differ on the point. But one thing is certain, that in the

original conception and building of the Transept the only entrance to it was through the rest of the Church, there being no external doorway in it: and this almost leads to the conclusion that a Church was first built for the use of the parishioners, and then the building of the Transept was proceeded with. That Church was dedicated to S. Nicholas, and is now the Music Hall. We shall advert later on to the time when it was desecrated and used for secular purposes.

Looking to the Transept, the late Mr. John Henry Parker and Sir Gilbert Scott agree in ascribing the date of its building to Abbot Richard Seynesbury, about the middle of the 14th Century. The character of the arches supports this theory, as they belong to that period. But the first builders only worked to the triforium level, leaving the upper portion to their successors, and, probably, temporarily roofing in what they had done; this, at any rate, was the opinion of Sir Gilbert Scott. It will be found that the clerestory, the large south window (as first erected), and the west windows, belong to the 15th Century, and were, probably, the work of Abbot Simon Ripley. In the plate of the "Series of window-tracery from Chester Cathedral," prepared by Mr. Ashpitel, and published in Mr. Parker's tractate, the date ascribed to the windows of the eastern aisle, and the southern extremities of both aisles, is 1360; and to the clerestory windows 1490.

These considerations (to which others might be added by the architectural expert) will give us a fairly accurate idea of the date of the building of this Transept, and of the time which elapsed before it was completed. But before leaving the point, I cannot forbear quoting some words from Sir Gilbert Scott's paper. He is describing

South Transept.

Stone Groining in
Western Aisle.

1. ^{The} Baptism of Christ

2. The Transfiguration

3. The Resurrection

4. The Ascension

South

Scale of feet 0 10 20 30 40 50

(See page 112)

100

the architectural merit and great antiquarian value of our Cathedral, and states that :—

“ Few of our Cathedrals exhibit a more complete consecutive series of specimens of the different varieties and chronological phases of our mediæval architecture, from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation.”

In our previous visits we have had our attention drawn to some of these earlier specimens ; but with regard to this part of the structure, he says :—

“ Of the later Decorated we have a truly magnificent example in the South Transept ; whilst of the Early Perpendicular we have specimens in the clerestories of the same Transept.”

In saying this, Sir Gilbert Scott was not unmindful of the extreme difficulty which must attend any attempt at disentangling the works of different dates, for he remarks that the Perpendicular work of the Nave and Transept is so intermingled and complicated as almost to defy such attempt.

We cannot be too thankful that the project of recasing and repairing the exterior (at the beginning of the 19th Century) did not proceed further than the main south front, where the result was so deplorable that it has been characterized thus : “ As mean a work as that century has produced.”

I have already referred to the reason for the extension of the Church in this direction, namely, the erection of more Chapels, with special dedications. Traces of this may be seen in the moulding or string-course which runs along the eastern wall. The regularity of this is broken by an indication in the masonry, which shows where the coping of the stone-screen, which divided the southernmost Chapel from its neighbour, joined this moulding. Some ten or twelve years ago, when the eastern aisle was repaired, the bases of the screens

between the other Chapels were again put in position, and the moulding above was altered to correspond to the portion to which I have referred. The dedication of two of these Chapels is known: the southern one (as we learn from the plan in the British Museum) was the Chapel of S. Nicholas; the northern one was that of S. Mary Magdalene; we have no record of the dedication of the others. One is described in the plan as "the Chancel" (that is, of course, of the Parish Church); can this have been dedicated to S. Oswald? The other is nameless. We are told that "John Arneway, who had been ten times successively Mayor of Chester and died 1278, is said to be buried before S. Leonard's Altar in the south part of the conventual or monastic Church, where he founded two Chantry Chapels"; but this would be nearly 100 years before the date which has been suggested for the building of the Transept. Can it be that the Transept not only occupied the site of the Parish Church of S. Oswald, but also that of the Altar of S. Leonard and the two Chantry Chapels, and that these were continued in an altered position in the enlarged Church? Unless evidence is forthcoming from some unknown and unsuspected quarter, this must be a mere matter of conjecture. It is interesting to me to observe that Simon de Whitchurch (Abbot 1265-1289) bound himself to maintain two chaplains to celebrate Mass for the soul of Sir John Arneway: one before the Altar of S. Leonard in the Conventual Church, the other before the Altar of S. Mary in the Church of S. Bridget. It is worthy of note that a payment of £4 per annum is still made by the Dean and Chapter to the Rector of S. Bridget, in fulfilment of this obligation.

As allusion has been made to the plan in the British Museum, it may be interesting to note that in it the

South Transept
Oak Groining in Centre

intermediate
groove foliage

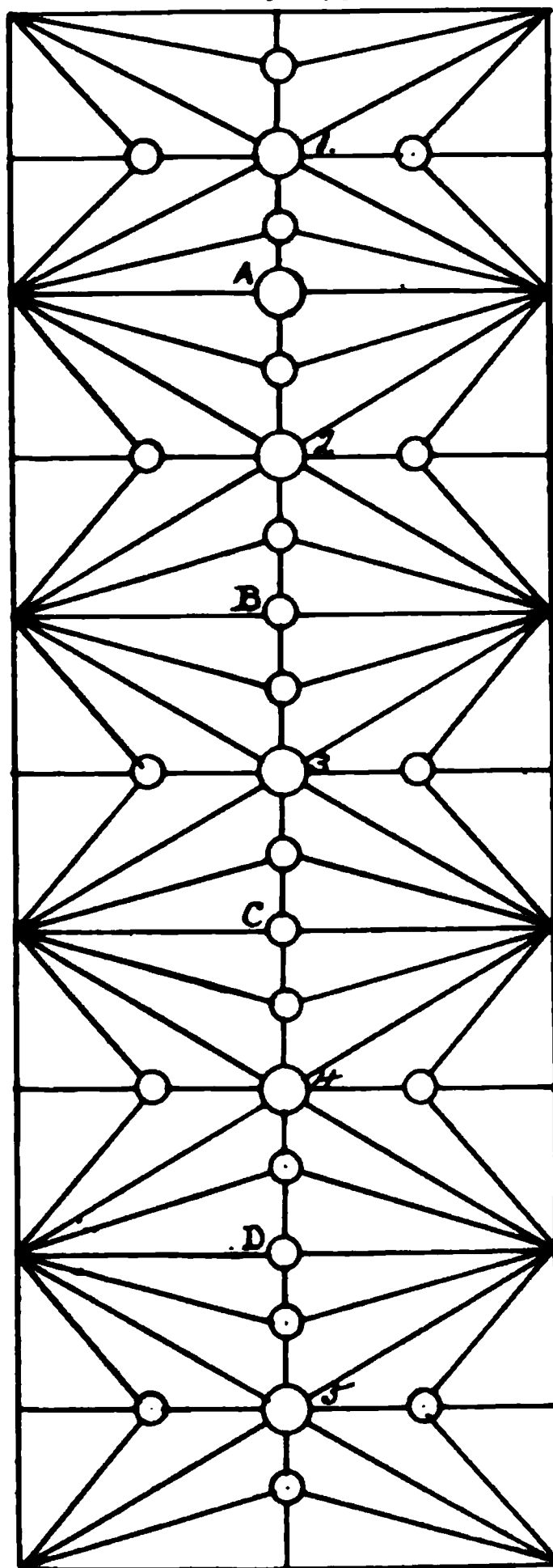
A Arms of
Dean of Chester

B Bishop of Chester

C Archbishop of York

D Duke of Westminster

North.



1 Joshua crossing Jordan
with the ark before him

2 Moses descending
 Sinai with the two
 tables of the covenant.

3 Isaac sacrifice
 of by Abraham
 Ram in Thicket - Angel

4 Noah's Ark on Water
 Gate returning to the
 Ark with Olive leaf

5 Abel sacrifice of
 Abel kneeling at an
 Altar on which is
 a Lamb.

South

Scale of feet

(See page 112)

100

western aisle is called "The Trough Aisle." I have not come across any explanation of such a title, and can only suggest that it may have arisen from the well-like appearance of the aisle on entering it through the south door, heightened, as the likeness probably would be, by the arrangement of pews or galleries against it. I can see no ecclesiastical origin for it.

In 1488 the parishioners deserted S. Nicholas Church (which, after being desecrated, became in 1545 the Common Hall, with a warehouse underneath; later a theatre; and now the Music Hall), and once more claimed, and successfully asserted, their rights to their old location. An entrance was made by shortening the southern window of the western aisle, and making a doorway beneath it: and the Transept became their Parish Church, and so continued until 1880, when the new Church of S. Thomas was substituted for it, and S. Oswald's, as we know it, became again an integral part of the Cathedral. During those 400 years, the building must have witnessed many vicissitudes. At first there was, perhaps, no division; or (at any rate) only a low screen separated the Church on the northern side from the rest of the building; and the services for the parishioners had to be conducted at times which did not interfere, first with the devotions of the monks, and afterwards with the Cathedral services. *This* screen is not indicated in the plan in the British Museum, though one is shown on the western side of the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene. In 1827 Dean Copleston erected a solid partition, reaching to the roof, by way of making both buildings distinct, so that services might be held simultaneously in each. In doing this the columns were grievously mutilated, and I believe that the result aimed at was not satisfactorily attained.

I do not purpose to-day to deal with the history of the building whilst it was a Parish Church.¹ The Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry Books of this ancient parish would no doubt give many incidents and interesting particulars affecting the edifice; whilst the monuments and tombstones would tell of members of various well-known county and city families who lie buried here. There is no doubt room here for investigation, and for the collecting of much interesting information on the part of those who have the charge of the documents referred to. Some of those present, however, may remember how this part of the Cathedral looked when it was a Parish Church. I have only an indistinct recollection of this, for I was only once inside it (and that not at a service), with Bishop Johnson, when he was Curate and Minor Canon, nearly 40 years ago. But we all know how unworthy of the rest of the Cathedral this portion seemed to be when it was once more thrown into it. There was the uneven wooden floor on which the pews had been placed; the whitewash on the walls and columns, in both of which were left large holes, where the supports of galleries and pews had rested; the shafts and springers for the vaulting were there, but there was no groining, only an unsightly-looking roof, though of a substantial character. Then, until 1887, the great south window had the meanest tracery (if tracery it could be called), consisting, as it did, simply of horizontal and perpendicular mullions without, or with scarcely any, ornamentation. When visitors entered (as they very frequently did) the Cathedral by the S. Oswald's door, they were aghast at the

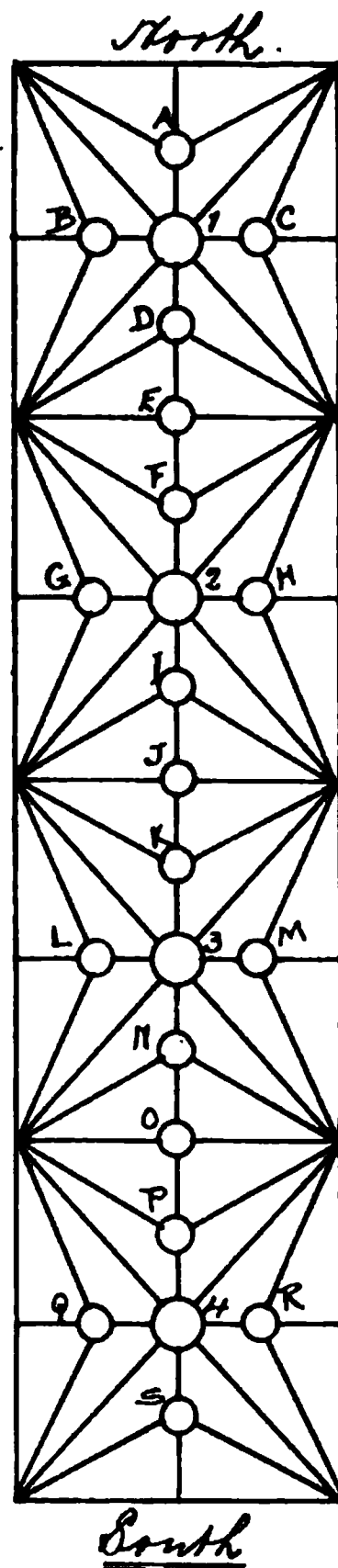
¹ It may be interesting to note that part of the Church was used as a School (possibly the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene), as items appear in the Churchwardens' Accounts for mending "the partition between the Chancel and the Scoole."

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South Transept

Stone Carving in Eastern Aisle

- A. Angel with cross.
- B. Pelican feeding her young.
- C. Rose.
- D. Dragons.
- E. Rose.
- F. Ballistic Rose.
- G. Bird.
- H. Foliage.
- I. Foliage.
- J. Foliage.
- K. Old Man with flowing hair
& holding a child.
- L. Dragons intertwined.
- M. Rose.
- N. Foliage.
- O. Foliage.
- P. Face surrounded with
curious rolls.
- Q. Wind idly leaves.
- R. Foliage.
- S. Angel with Indor
Rose.



1. S. Mary Magdalene &
angel at the tomb

2. Crucifixion BYM
& S. John

3. Our Lord with two
disciples at Emmaus

4. Angel holding IHS
surmounted by cross

Scale of feet.

(See page 105)

dilapidated and apparently uncared-for condition of the building as they found it.

It will, perhaps, be convenient to describe in order the various stages of the restoration or reparation of this Transept, after £1,000 granted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had been expended, in 1880, in the necessary repairs of the roof and other external work. The first thing which was undertaken was the groining of the eastern aisle; one bay of this, at the south end, had been executed either at the time of the original structure or (as Sir Gilbert Scott thought) in 1488, thus giving a good starting point for the completion of the rest. It is curious that this Chapel of S. Nicholas should thus have been treated, whilst the remainder was untouched. Sir Gilbert Scott seems to suggest that it may have been done to gratify the parishioners, when they left S. Nicholas Church and resumed possession of their former site. The groining of the other three bays was undertaken under the late Dean Howson. I have not been able to obtain from Messrs. Thompson any scheme or plan of this, and so I must apologise for the one which I have myself prepared, and on which I have entered the supposed subjects of the carved bosses. In S. Nicholas Chapel the centre boss represents an Angel holding the sacred monogram "I.H.S.," surmounted by a Crown; in the smaller bosses are, an Angel with a Tudor Rose, a face surrounded with curious rolls or folds; a hind or other creature amidst leaves; and a pattern of foliage; these are old. In the next bay, on the centre boss, is a representation of our Blessed Lord sitting at the table with the two disciples at Emmaus, unless it be taken as the central figures at the Last Supper. The smaller bosses do not seem to demand any special description. In the next bay we have the

Crucifixion, and the Mother of our Lord and S. John standing by the Cross; whilst in the northern bay, in the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene, is a carving which I believe represents S. Mary Magdalene at the empty tomb, carrying the spices, with the Angel announcing that her Lord has risen. In one of the smaller bosses in this Chapel will be seen the Pelican feeding her young. Want of funds prevented the carrying out of the groining at that time in the western aisle.

About this time two of the windows were filled with stained glass. The one at the southern extremity of the eastern aisle is by Clayton & Bell, and is not one of their happiest efforts. It was given by Mrs. Twemlow in memory of her husband, Colonel Twemlow. The other is also a military window in memory of General Harding, and was given by Officers who served under him. It is in the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene, and is by Heaton, Butler, & Bayne. Joshua, David, the Centurion of Capernaum, and Cornelius are the subjects. Though far superior to the one just referred to, it suffers by its close proximity to one of Mr. Kempe's exquisite productions, and the treatment of the angels in the tracery above is not, to my mind, very successful. Some of the colours, too, in the rest of the window seem too opaque.

In 1887 the mean tracery was removed from the great south window, and replaced by the elegant and graceful Flamboyant tracery which we now see, under Sir Arthur Blomfield. Sir Gilbert Scott had proposed to insert a window in rich perpendicular style, taking the motive from the later windows of the Clerestory. Sir Arthur Blomfield, in his design, looked for inspiration rather to the earlier windows of the eastern aisle, and of the southern ends of both. The whole cost of both stone-

The Baptism of our Lord :

Ross in stone-carving in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral (see plan)

(See page 112)

*From Photograph by Mr. E. W. Morris, 8, Werburgh's Mount
(By kind permission of Messrs. Thompson, Peterborough)*

work and glass was borne by Earl Egerton of Tatton, and is a memorial to his father the first Baron Egerton of Tatton, who was Lord Lieutenant and Chairman of Quarter Sessions of the County of Chester, and who died in February, 1883. The window was dedicated on Saturday, August 6th, 1887, in the course of the afternoon service. The glass is by Heaton, Butler, and Bayne, and is in the style of the 15th Century. The effect is produced by the use of pure transparent glass for the outlines of the drawing, heightened by the contrast with richly coloured draperies and backgrounds, under architectural canopies. The subject of the window is the Triumph of Faith, as recorded in the xi. and xii. chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The three central lights contain the chief incidents in the life of our Lord: the Nativity, with adoration of the Shepherds and the Magi; above, as the leading idea of the whole window, and therefore on a larger scale, the Crucifixion; and above this again, the Ascension, whilst the text "Looking unto Jesus, &c.," on a scroll, gives the general lesson. The symbol of the Trinity crowns the whole, and the ornamental tracery above is filled with representations of the Angelic Choir, "the innumerable company of Angels" receiving with the song of triumph "the Mediator of the New Covenant." In the side-lights the subjects from the Old Testament are placed in the following order (counting upwards in each case, and beginning with the eastern light): "Abel"; "Enoch"; "Noah"; "the Promise to Sarah"; "the offering of Isaac"; "Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph"; "the First Passover"; "the Passage of the Red Sea." On the other side of the central lights we have: "The Fall of Jericho"; "Samson"; "David and Goliath"; "the Child Samuel"; "Solomon building the Temple"; "Daniel"; "Elijah raising the Dead"; and "Elijah comforted and

sustained." The various colours are spread over the whole space with excellent effect, so that in no part is undue prominence given to any particular tint, and the general harmony is well preserved. The "setting," so to speak, of the window has been enormously improved by the new groining of the centre aisle, and the removal of whitewash from the walls.

At a subsequent period, in 1889, the eastern aisle was refloored, the divisions between its several Chapels indicated, and the sedilia and piscina in S. Nicholas Chapel restored; this last as a memorial to Mr. Timothy Lee, a regular worshipper in the Cathedral.

In the following year a beautiful new window, designed by Mr. Kempe, was placed in what was called, in the plan to which I have referred, the *Chancel* of S. Oswald's. The subjects chosen for illustration are "The Marriage at Cana" and "The Last Supper." The window was dedicated by Mrs. Arthur Potts in memory of her husband and of her father, Wm. Wardell. The delicacy of treatment and of colour, and the beauty of the drawing, are apparent to any observer, and would make a fuller description of the window an impertinence on the part of any one but the artist himself.

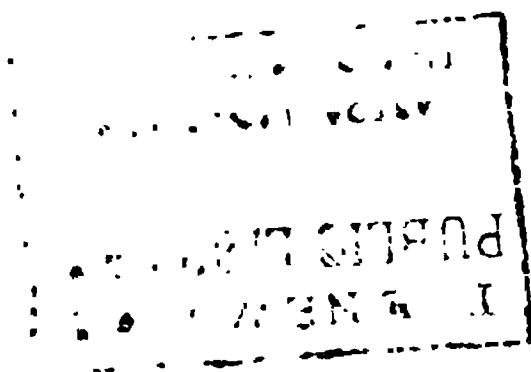
Mr. Kempe also designed the adjoining window, which was erected as a memorial to the Right Hon. H. C. Raikes, M.P., who was son of Chancellor Raikes. The figures represented in it have all a special relation to the subject of the memorial or to the building itself. At *S. Martin's* House his mother lived; whilst he was Postmaster-General when he died (an office which is associated with *S. Martin-le-Grand*). He was also Chancellor of the Diocese of *S. Asaph*, so that it was fitting that the patron saint of the adjoining Welsh Diocese, in which his home was situated, should be

The Transfiguration of our Lord :

Bois in stone-carving in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral (see plan)

(See page 112)

*From Photograph by Mr. R. W. Morris, N. Wetherby, Mount
By kind permission of Messrs. Thompson, Peterborough*



depicted. *S. Anselm* was connected with the foundation of the Norman Monastery here, and we see him showing to Hugh Lupus, his friend, the ground-plan of the Norman Church. And *S. Chad* recalls the fact that Chester was in the Diocese of Lichfield until the See of Chester was founded by Henry VIII. This window was a public memorial. Another window, by Powell, was put in the western aisle by the family, in memory of the late Chancellor Raikes and his wife. *This* window does not suffer by a close and immediate comparison with those of Mr. Kempe, and has a character of its own. The two central figures, *S. Henry* and *S. Lucy*, recall the memories of the Chancellor and his wife, who bore, respectively, those Christian names. The others, *S. Werburgh* and *S. Oswald*, are prompted by the building itself. Dean Howson, in his handbook, has some instructive paragraphs on the association of these Royal Saints, and on the junction of their names in one building. Perhaps I might add here, that in old documents the Vicar of *S. Oswald's* was called, indifferently, the Minister or Vicar of *S. Oswald* or *S. Werburgh*.

We now come to the great work which is fast approaching completion. On January 14th, 1900, Sir Horatio Lloyd came to see me at the Residence (the Dean at the time being seriously ill), and asked me if I could obtain the approximate cost of the restoration of *S. Oswald's*, as he wished to submit such project to an influential and representative meeting of County Magistrates, as a fitting Memorial to the Duke of Westminster, who had passed to his rest on December 22nd, 1899. I could not help expressing my gratification that the idea had been broached from outside, so that it could never be said that the Dean and Chapter were, so to speak, making capital out of the lamented

death of His Grace. I at once communicated with Messrs. Blomfield, and enquired whether any plans and estimates for such work had been left by Sir Arthur. Such had indeed been prepared in 1882, but were naturally out of date and useless. Mr. C. J. Blomfield, therefore, visited the Cathedral, in company with a member of Messrs. Thompson's firm of Peterborough, and, as a result of that visit, an informal estimate was prepared, showing that for the internal restoration nearly £10,000 would be required; and that a further sum of £11,000 would be needed, if the restoration externally of the south front, including the statues or figures for the niches, was contemplated. The project of the restoration of the interior was at once taken up most readily and warmly, and an influential Committee was appointed, and funds soon came in. By January of this year £9,221 had been received, and it was then calculated that £555 more would be required. The work was placed under the charge of the Cathedral Architects, Messrs. Blomfield; Messrs. Thompson & Co., of Peterborough, were the Contractors; Messrs. Haswell, of Chester, being employed to execute the Altar-Tomb in alabaster; Messrs. Peard & Hart the iron and bronze railings; and Mr. Pomeroy, the eminent sculptor, the recumbent effigy of the late Duke in marble. The position of this Cenotaph and Effigy has, after full discussion and consultation with those specially interested, been fixed, and it will be placed under the middle arch on the western side.

Everyone will be struck with the transformation which has been effected, and with the completeness and thoroughness of the work which has been done. The only thing which seems to have been omitted (apart from the restoration of the doorway and window above,

The Resurrection of our Lord:

Doss in stone-voining in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral (see plan)

(See page 112)

*from Photograph by Mr E. W. Morris, N. Werburgh & Mount
(By kind permission of Messrs. Thompson, Peterborough)*

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971). The *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* contents were expressed as $\mu\text{g g}^{-1}$ of dry weight.

;

which awaits the time when the exterior is taken in hand), is the ornamental balustrade beneath the great south window. I believe this has not been done because it would hide the inscription and lower portion of that window; that, at least, is my conjecture. Turning to the work itself, you will see how the columns and walls have been cleared of numerous coats of whitewash, and the original stone been disclosed. Extensive repairs were necessary, not only at the bases, but also in other portions of the piers; and this has been carefully and skilfully done, so that the newer masonry harmonizes absolutely with the old. The vaulting of the roofs has been carried out for the first time, and we have now the oak-groining in the central aisle, and stone-groining in the western one. By the extreme courtesy and kindness of Messrs. Thompson I have been furnished with a complete plan of both these, and with photographs of the larger stone bosses. All the bosses were designed by Mr. Blomfield in conjunction with Messrs. Thompson, whose carvers executed them under the skilful guidance of Mr. Fincher, who carved the bulk of the figures himself. Anyone who was privileged to be present when this was being done could not help being struck with the artistic care and intelligence displayed. It was particularly interesting to note how the clay models were from time to time altered and improved, so as to bring out into stronger light the motive of the design.

Some impression may be formed of the vastness of the work, from the fact that the stones out of which the larger bosses were carved weighed three-quarters of a ton. Turning our attention first to the central portion, we cannot but admire the general effect of this oak-groining, and again commend the wisdom of Sir Gilbert Scott and his successors in adopting this mode of

treatment. The colour of our stone is such that the two materials blend together in perfect harmony. The contractors and workmen could, no doubt, tell us something of the difficulties attending its construction, for I imagine that it was more easy to accommodate the hard material of stone, than wood, to such a design; and this again, must needs be most carefully selected and most thoroughly seasoned to prevent warping. There are twenty-nine carved bosses in this portion of the roof, of which the nine *larger* ones only need a description, the remaining twenty representing foliage in various patterns. Beginning from the south, and remembering that it is only the *larger* specimens which we are considering, the first represents "Abel kneeling at an Altar, on which is a lamb." The centre boss of the next bay gives us "Noah's Ark on the waters, with the dove returning with the olive leaf." In the third we have "Abraham offering up Isaac, with the Angel pointing to the ram caught in the thicket." We then have "Moses descending from Mount Sinai with the two tables of the Law"; whilst in the last we find "Joshua crossing the river Jordan with the Ark borne before him." It will thus be seen that the subjects accord with the great south window, four out of the five being also represented there. The other larger bosses, which are coloured, are heraldic, and give us successively (beginning from the south): the Arms of the Duke of Westminster; of the Archbishop of York; of the Bishop of Chester; and of the Dean of Chester. The appropriateness of this selection will be apparent to every one.

In the western aisle we will take the reverse order and consider the northern bay first. Here, on the large boss, we find the Baptism of our Lord by S. John, the

The Ascension of our Lord:

Boss in stone-voicing in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral (see plan)

(See page 112)

*From Photograph by Mr. R. W. Morris, S. Werburgh's Mount
(By kind permission of Messrs. Thompson, Peterborough)*

1000

balance, so to speak, of the representation being secured by the figure of an Angel as witness of the scene. The smaller bosses have reference to the event—for instance: the hovering Dove; the Fish with a label inscribed "*Ex Aqua et Spiritu Sancto*"; and the Dragon pierced with a sword, significant, it seems to me, of the exorcism which used to accompany baptism.

In the next bay we have the Transfiguration, with our Lord in the act of blessing, holding the Orb and Cross. The Old Testament Saints are also called to mind by the bosses on either side: on the one to the west is the Brazen Serpent telling us of Moses; and on the eastern one a chariot in flames reminding us of the Translation of Elijah. The smaller bosses, though beautiful, do not demand special description.

Coming to the next bay, we see the Resurrection of our Lord, with bright rays of light falling upon him, a witnessing Angel by His side, and three soldiers in various attitudes of fear and awe. To the east of this is Mary at the empty Tomb; and on the other side the Holy Spirit descending with the Crown of Thorns. "The Phoenix in the flames" and the word "Theos" on the other two bosses are in harmony with the central idea.

In the last and southern bay we have the Ascension, with the eleven Apostles, so that here we have many figures. It is interesting to note, also, that the foot-prints of the ascending Saviour are represented on the ground, according to traditional usage and treatment. On the surrounding bosses will be found: "the Agnus Dei"; "The Chalice and Host"; "Angels with Shields"; and an "Oak, with the word *descendens* on a label." It will thus be seen that in the treatment of this aisle we

have, as the prominent feature, our Lord Himself, and, I think we may say, our Lord in His Glory, for even at His Baptism there is the recognition by the Father: "This is My beloved Son"; a word repeated, as we know, at the Transfiguration.

. Since the above was written, the window in S. Nicholas' Chapel has been filled with glass by Mr. Kempe. The window is a memorial, and forms a beautiful addition to the restored Transept. The memorial has been erected in memory of the late Mrs. Blackburne, wife of the Rev. Thos. Blackburne, Rector of Crofton, Yorkshire, and of their daughter, the late Mrs. Townley A. Parker, of Cuerdon Hall, Lancashire. The window consists of four lights; and the four Saints, S. Stephen, S. Catherine, S. Margaret, and S. Leonard, are represented in the main design. The upper portion of the window is artistically decorated, while below each Saint is an historical scene. The following is the inscription:—"In loving remembrance of Emma Annie Blackburne, here married A.D. MDCCCXIX., and of Katherine Margaret, her daughter, here baptised A.D. MDCCCXXIV., this window is dedicated in the name of God, MDCCCCH."

N.B.—The Papers on the Cathedral, in this number of the Journal, were read on the spot, with the features alluded to in full view. Through the kindness of MR. ROBERT NEWSTEAD, who has given much time and labour to the work, many illustrations are now given. We are also indebted to MR. W. H. FAIRBAIRNS for permission to use the illustration of the Cloister of Gloucester (from *Notes on the Cathedrals*, Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.); to MESSRS. THOMPSON, for permission to reproduce the photographs of the new bosses, taken by MR. MORRIS of Chester, and also for the carefully-drawn plans of the bosses, which they have so kindly supplied.

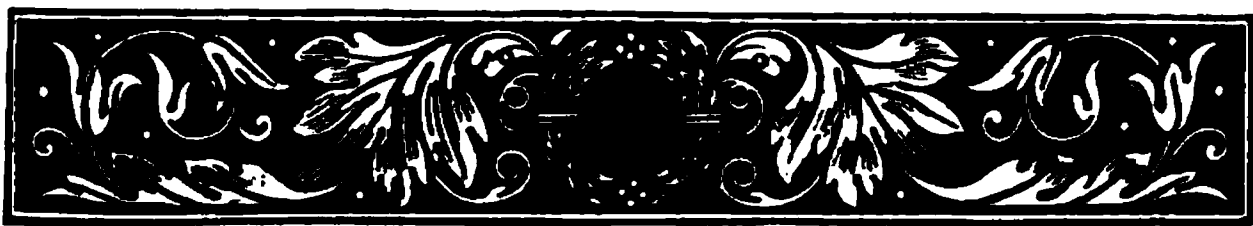
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WALL

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**Bigden's Tomb (from east, looking down), in South Choir Aisle,
Chester Cathedral**

(See page 115)



The Discovery of Ralph Higden's Tomb

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A.,

ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(Read 13th May, 1902)

RECENT papers and discussions have brought prominently before us the name of Ralph Higden, and it is, therefore, not inappropriate that we should put on record the circumstances connected with the discovery of his tomb in the south aisle of the Choir of the Cathedral. I will first quote the paragraph dealing with the matter from p. 37 of Dean Howson's "Handbook to Chester Cathedral"—

"It was always believed that Roger Higden" (observe the Christian name here given), "the author of 'Polychronicon' (a mediæval history of great note), was buried near the door of the south aisle of this Church. No such door was known to exist in 1868. In the process of restoration, however, a doorway (now fully restored) was discovered in the south wall of this aisle. Hence it was inferred that the burying-place of Higden was now approximately known. Attention was soon afterwards called to a hollow sound in the floor under one of the mural arches near this point. The place was opened; and it is believed that, for a moment, the actual body of Higden was seen. Everything, however, speedily vanished, except some bones and part of the cerecloth in which the body was wrapped. A full account of this probable discovery was laid before the Chester Archæological Society by the Precentor, who was present at the opening of the grave."

I have not been able to find, in the published Transactions of the Society, any papers relating to the subject; but the Rev. E. L. Y. Deacle, who was then the Precentor, has very kindly furnished me with his recollections of the event, and also with some correspondence which he had at the time on certain interesting points connected with it, and which are not given in Dean Howson's brief statement. I only regret that we have not the paper which Mr. Deacle read in the old King's School shortly after the discovery, and which he tells me he has only recently destroyed. This paper was probably the communication to our Society to which Dean Howson refers in the paragraph I have quoted.

By the kindness of the Editor (Mr. Cooper), I am able to give an extract from the *Chester Courant*, of June 3rd, 1874, being a portion of a paper read by Rev. E. L. Y. Deacle, at a meeting of the Archæological Society, on May 27th:—

“ On February 16th, in repairing the stone seat which runs along the wall in the south aisle of the Choir, the workmen came across a stone-slab forming part of the seat. On the slab there was a rich foliated cross, being styled the Cross of Glory. Under the slab was rough stonework, which had to be removed in order to restore the ashlar. The workman employed in removing these stones was soon attracted by the hollow sound beneath, and on going a little deeper he came on three stones, one of which had formed part of the mullion of a window. These stones were found to be the covering of a stone-grave partly cut in the wall. The stones were carefully removed in my presence, and disclosed a grave 2 feet 4 inches from the level of the floor. The grave had never been disturbed; but there lay the body, marvellously perfect in form; the hands crossed on the breast; the arms, as far as the elbow, lying on either side of the body! The skull had fallen from the cavity cut in the stone to receive it, and was resting on the breast. For the first few moments after opening the grave the framework

of the body seemed most complete, and so perfect and distinct that I could see the fingers of the hands clasped. In a short time the distinctness of the form was gone, and besides some of the larger bones nothing remained but a glittering white powdery matter and the brown cerecloth which still enveloped the lower part of the body. This cerecloth was of coarse plaited work, and of a woollen material. The grave was made with flags set on edge, with a hole cut out of the solid stone for the head. The length of the grave was 5 feet 3 inches from the shoulders to the feet, and the rest for the head was 9 inches long. The breadth across the shoulders was 1 foot 5 inches; and where the feet, which were tied together, lay the width was 12½ inches. The actual depth of the coffin or grave was 13½ inches. . . . Across the legs, reaching from the feet above the middle of the body, there lay the remains of a decayed hazel rod."

I will now give the narrative of the discovery as gathered from Mr. Deacle's letters. Writing on March 10th, 1902, he says:—

"I was present when Higden's grave was opened some three feet below the floor. The stone-coffin was covered with three stones, one of which would seem to have been used in a window. The skull fell out of the head-rest when the grave was opened, and bits of bone, a fragment or two of the cassock in which he was buried, and a fine white powder the actual form of the spine (were seen). The grave proved to be that of Higden by an account of a Royal Progress found in the Bodleian Library, where the grave of Higden was pointed out at a measured distance from a doorway (unknown in my day) which led into the cemetery. . . . On the body in the coffin was laid a hazel wand, the purpose of which was not clearly understood."

Writing again, in answer to further enquiries, on April 17th, 1902, Mr. Deacle adds:—

"I read a paper on the subject in the King's School of that time, and not long ago destroyed it. I believe that the only people present were Frater (the Clerk of the Works), one or

two of the Vergers, and myself. After a certain quantity of soil had been thrown out, they came on three fragments of stone covering the stone-coffin. I got into the hole, and a rope was passed round the stone over the head of the coffin. On exposure to the air the skull fell from its place; then the three stones were lifted and bits of a serge cassock were found, a bit of which I sent to the British Museum, and from the unguent used they fixed the date of burial, which coincided with the date of Higden. A friend was about that same time hunting for something in the Bodleian Library, and gave me an account he found there of a Royal Progress, when the tomb or burying place of Higden was pointed out at a given distance from the doorway into the cemetery. This doorway, or indications of it, were unknown to us, but the plaster was removed, and the jambs of the doorway were found; the distance we measured, and it agreed with the number of feet mentioned in the account of the Royal Visit. This confirmed the belief that the grave was that of Higden."

I applied to Mr. Haverfield for further information as to this Bodleian Manuscript, and cannot do better than give you his answer, on April 22nd, 1902:—

"I cannot find or hear of any Bodleian MS. describing a Royal Progress and also alluding to Higden's Tomb in Chester Cathedral. But there is a MS. of Higden's "Polychronicon" in our Christ Church Library, and at the end of it a note by a later hand (15th or 16th Century), which seems to contain the words which you quote. It has been printed several times. I have verified the text to-day, and enclose it."

The MS. was given to the library by Dr. Burton, an alumnus of Christ Church in 1595, and the note was probably written by him. The following is the note:—

"Corpus hujus Ranulphi conditum est in Monasterio S. Werburgi in australi parte templi juxta chorum prope ostium quod ducit in cemiterium: Arcus illi in muro excavatus est. Inscriptum fuit in muro; 'Non hic sub muro, sed subter marmore duro.' Ostendit Mr. Bucksey(?)"

The translation is as follows :—

“The body of this Ralph was buried in the Monastery of S. Werburg, in the southern part of the Church by the Choir, near to the door which leads into the cemetery. An arch for it has been hollowed in the wall. [This] inscription was on the wall: ‘Not here under the wall, but beneath the hard marble.’” [Mr. Bucksey showed this.]

As the words in this note are quoted in the correspondence which Mr. Deacle had at the time with Judge Wynne Ffoulkes, and to which I shall refer, I cannot but think that this is the MS. (and not one in the Bodleian) from which his friend quoted at the time of the discovery, though no specified distance of the tomb from the doorway is given. As to Mr. Bucksey, the late Mr. Thomas Hughes (who was Sheriff of the City at the time when Mr. Deacle read his paper) made the following suggestion :—

“With regard to Mr. Bucsey (or Bucksey) furnishing Dr. Burton with information as to the grave of the monk, I would suggest the following explanation. When the Dean and Chapter heard that the Earl of Leicester was at Shrewsbury, they sent Dr. Bucksey (or Bucsey) to Shrewsbury to meet the Earl, and invited him to Chester. Perhaps Dr. Burton was in the suite of the Earl, and as the Earl came here, it was probably on a visit to the Cathedral that Bucksey showed Burton the tomb of Ralph Higden.”

I think this also explains Mr. Deacle's impression as to “the account of a Royal Progress.”

I will now turn your attention to some points which were dealt with at the time by Mr. Deacle's various correspondents. First, as to the place of sepulture in (or near) the wall of the Church. Taken by itself, the note or memorandum on the Christ Church MS. would seem to imply that an arch had been hollowed out in

the existing wall of the aisle for the purpose of constructing the tomb. The Clerk of the Works, however, was of opinion that the arch was constructional, and so of a date some 70 or 100 years before the death of Higden. Further, the inscription points to the interment being not in the wall, but under a marble-slab close by, whilst the only marble-slab was that over the arched-tomb in the wall. These considerations ought, perhaps, to be modified by the fact that the note on the MS. is ascribed to a writer of the 16th Century.

I gather from a subsequent letter from Mr. Deacle that, before the restoration of the south aisle, "there was little to prove that there was a tomb *in* the wall. The marble-slab projected six inches beyond the face of the wall, standing up above the pavement some four or five inches. The recess was not apparent, being filled in with rubble and mortar. The slab was of Purbeck marble, bearing a foliated cross."¹ It was when this slab was removed and the soil excavated to the depth of three feet, that the coffin, covered with three stones (the centre one having apparently been used elsewhere), was found. Mr. Deacle is under the impression that he saw on the wall, where the cavity was found, the inscription: "Non hic sub muro sed subter marmore duro." The tomb, therefore, if not actually in the wall was close to it, and may have been partly in the wall and partly under the adjoining pavement. A memorandum in Mr. Deacle's handwriting, and written at the time of the discovery, seems to point to this latter conclusion. It has reference to a somewhat similar position of the tomb of Archbishop Stephen Langton, in the east wall

¹ Here, I think, Mr. Deacle's memory may be at fault, as the slab is, apparently, of a red stone; and in the paper which he read shortly after, it is spoken of as a *stone*-slab.

of the Warrior's Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral, though, in this case, the arch which carries the wall of the chapel is thrown over the *centre*, and not over the length, of the tomb. I may quote a sentence from this memorandum :

"There is a story that the tomb is placed partly in and partly out of the chapel on account of the Interdict at the time of the Archbishop's death ; this, however, is only a legend."

At the time of the discovery of the tomb, Canon Blomfield drew Mr. Deacle's attention to the fact that several of the later Abbots were buried in the south aisle of the Choir. Thus—

"Thos. de Byrchehylls, who died 1323, was buried there, nearly in a line with the pillars and opposite the western arch ; his grave was opened to make way for Dean Smith in 1787. Wm. de Bebington died 1349, and was buried on the right side of his predecessor. Wm. de Mershter died 1386, and was buried in the south aisle of the Choir, on the right side of Wm. Bebington, and so almost up to the south wall, and close to the arched tomb."

Canon Blomfield, in mentioning these facts, was contending that it was unlikely that a richly-ornamented tomb would be erected in honour of an ordinary monk. But may not this be the very meaning of the inscription, as if the arched recesses had been prepared by the builders of nearly one hundred years before for the interment of some future Abbot or dignitary, and to show that Higden's body was not occupying such an honourable position ? That such a provision should be made beforehand is not deemed out of the question is shown by the contention of some architectural authorities that the six Norman recesses in the south walk of the Cloister, evidently erected at one time, were intended for the tombs of the early Abbots. Moreover, the tomb which I learn from Judge Wynne Ffoulkes is Higden's, is the westernmost of the three, and is not under one of the

two canopied arches, but is really part of the stone seat; a portion of the wall being hollowed out.

The memorandum on the Christ Church MS. may be taken as pretty conclusive evidence that the tomb opened in 1874 was the tomb of Ralph Higden.

Before turning to other points I cannot refrain from reading another letter of Canon Blomfield's (dated February 23rd, 1874), which I am sure you will like to hear, though it seems to advance a contradictory theory to that put forward in the other letter:—

“The custom of burial in or under the walls of Churches has been much discussed by the learned in *Notes and Queries*, and some curious traditions on the subject mentioned, but no definite conclusion come to; nobody seems to know much about it. The practice seems to have prevailed in the 14th Century, at which period, probably, some of the tombs which originally projected from the walls were inserted into them. An idea prevailed in some places that the Church wall was a kind of neutral ground, neither within the Church nor without it, in which ecclesiastics who had committed some venial offence were buried. But the right of mural interment was certainly not limited to ecclesiastics, as there are many instances of knights and others so buried. I have an indistinct idea of some traditional statement that the tombs in the south wall of the Choir were removed to that spot at some time when the wall was repaired or rebuilt.”

The late Mr. Ewen supplied some notes to Mr. Deacle which will be listened to with much interest; with them was the enclosing letter (dated February 23rd, 1874):—

“There is no doubt, in my own mind, that the ‘cerecloth’ found in the Cathedral is a hand-made cloth, and corresponding with that one found in a Celtic Barrow in Yorkshire, and mentioned by Dr. Rock. Weaving was not introduced into England until 1331. The Act of Charles II. appears to confirm the continuance, to a late period, of woollen burial garments.”

The following were the notes :—

“The earliest record of wooden-coffins in England is at the burial of King Arthur, who was buried in an entire trunk of oak, hollowed, A.D. 542.” (*Haydn's Dictionary of Dates v. Coffins*).

“A little deeper was a coffin hollowed out of an oak tree, and within lay the bones of the renowned King Arthur and his fair Queen Guenevere.” (*Cameos of English History*).

“After the Conquest the practice was introduced into England of placing stone coffin-lids, with or without effigies, under low arches. In the 13th Century the flat grave-stone was employed, on a level with the floor.” (*Article upon Tombs, in “Faiths of the World”*).

Then follows another quotation from the same book :—

“Burying the dead had begun to be practised by the Anglo-Saxons when their history was first written by the Christian Clergy, and was never after discontinued. The ordinary coffins were of wood, and the superior ones of stone; the bodies of Kings were wrapped in *linen*, but the clergy were dressed in their priestly vestments.”

To this Mr. Ewen added the query: “were not their vestments cowls (*sic*) of coarse woollen?”

An extract from Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster* is then given :—

“King John, with a view to escape the demons he had so faithfully served in life, gave orders to wrap his body in a monk's cowl, and to bury it between two Saints (Wolfstan and Oswald).”

After some notes (which are scarcely relevant) on “The Act of Charles II.,” “Worsted,” and “Bishop Blaize,” I find the following, though no mention is made of the source from which it is taken :—

“March 2nd, 1787. Some few weeks ago we mentioned the discovery of an antient and remarkable coffin, with the remains of an embalmed body, in our Cathedral, since which

a record has been found that proves it to have been a clerical gentleman named Thomas Birchelsey, otherwise Lytheller, a Chaplain to King Edward I., by whom he was appointed Abbot of this Cathedral, on the 30th January, 1291, and died in the reign of Edward II., in 1324."

I have since ascertained that this paragraph is extracted from the *Chester Chronicle* of the date given, and am much indebted to Mr. Wm. H. Davies, the Chief Reporter, who kindly made search in the files of the paper, and verified the extract. This grave was evidently the one "opened to make way for Dean Smith in 1787," as mentioned in Canon Blomfield's letter already quoted.

The hazel wand on the body in the coffin gave rise to many conjectures, the result of which will best be given by quoting the letters which Mr. Deacle received on the subject.¹ One dated April 13th, 1874, and signed "Emily S. Holt," contains the following:—

"I believe I can tell you the meaning of the hazel-stick. It was a preservative against witchcraft. A cross of *witch*-elm (*sic*) was found in the coffin of Henry IV. (see Strickland's *Queens of England*, ii., 104). It is very unreasonable to offer you this statement merely on my *ipse dixit*, but I am sorry to add that I cannot state my authority. I have looked for it in vain, and I can only say that the fact has lodged itself in my memory from some source at present unknown."

I have given this theory as it was advanced, because it would not have been fair to suppress it. But against it must now be set the opinions of two ecclesiastics of the Roman Church. In a fragment of a letter, dated from Stonyhurst College, Blackburn, (and from which

¹ It may be well to state that a month later, on March 18th, 1874, another grave was opened, and in this were found a chalice and paten, a pair of leather sandals, a buckle, the remains of some silken vestment, and a hazel rod in a far better state of preservation.

the signature, I regret to say, has been torn away, together with the name of the authority referred to), are these words :—

“According to this learned priest the hazel-rods were buried with persons who had done penance in lifetime, and were (so to say) *post mortem* absolutions. In some cases it appears that the dead body was scourged with rods of this wood, and the rods were buried with the corpse.”

An earlier sentence in this letter shows that the writer had been in correspondence with Mr. T. Hughes, F.S.A., on the subject. Another letter to Mr. Hughes, from the late Rev. Canon Cholmondeley, I am able to give in full. It is dated May 1st, 1874, and is as follows :—

“I omitted to inform you that similar confessional wands to those which I described to you as being in use at St. Peter's, are also to be seen (and are used) in the six other Basilicas of Rome. There, also, are these rods seen attached to the Confessionals. On the whole, I am inclined confidently to think that in the graves you named (as well as in Rome and elsewhere) they are meant as symbols of ‘Penance, Absolution, and Indulgence’; whether (1) they intimated the office of *Penitentiary* as having attached to the deceased person during life; or (2) whether they signify *post mortem* Absolution and Indulgence; or (3) whether the person deceased received *in hora mortis* some special Absolution from Rome, which was so indicated. Still, all these are only applications of one radical idea, viz., that the wands you saw and the wands I have seen are symbolic of Penance, Absolution (and also, perhaps, Indulgence). You will not fail to observe the affinities of thought between this symbolism and the types and figures of the Old Testament. And, in speaking of Christian Antiquities, the connection between the Old Testament and the New should always be borne in mind. You will, therefore, remember (1) Aaron's Rod, &c., &c.; also (2) David's words: ‘Thy rod and Thy staff have comforted me’ (Protestant Version); and (3) ‘By faith, Jacob, dying, blessed each of the sons of Joseph and adored the top of his rod,’ Hebrews xi., 21 (Catholic Version).”

It is not possible, of course, to arrive at any complete solution of the matter, and to say which of the alternatives here suggested is the true one. Higden, however, was a *lay* monk (as Judge Wynne Ffoulkes reminds us), no sacramental vessels being found in the coffin; the wand, therefore, could not have implied that he exercised the office of a confessor; and, most probably, indicated that he had received absolution *in horâ mortis*. In the other grave the presence of the sacred vessels would seem to show that the person buried was a confessor.

We shall all agree that it is interesting to have had these points brought to our notice, and that we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Deacle for his kindness in making this possible, by placing these various papers at our disposal.

Though I have finished the subject, so far as it refers to the discovery of the tomb, there is one point on which I would add a few words. In one of his letters Canon Blomfield writes thus :—

“I have a copy of Higden's Polychronicon as translated by Trevisa in 1527, now a scarce book. Though the chronicle is continued down to 1480, there is no mention of Higden's death or place of burial. I see that, in the Harleian Catalogue of the British Museum, he is thus described: ‘Polycronicon Ranulphi Monachi Cestrensis exemplar pervetustum, &c. Revera est Polycratica temporum seu Polychronicon Rogeri Monachi Cestrensis quam foedissime defloravit Plagiariorum insignissimus Ranulphus Higden commonachus suns.’ So he is not held in much respect as an original or trustworthy historian. If Caxton had not printed his book, both that and his name would, probably, have been lost in oblivion long ago.”

I sent this extract to Sir Edmund Maunde Thompson, the Principal Librarian at the British Museum, and have been favoured by him with the following memorandum :—

“No authority is given in the Harleian Catalogue for the statement that Higden's Polychronicon is plagiarised from the Polycratica of Roger of Chester, and, presumably, it is simply Wanley's interpretation of the fact that some of the extant MSS. give the work the title of the Polycratica of Roger of Chester; and others that of the Polychronicon of Ranulph of Chester (*i.e.*, Higden). The origin of the belief in the existence of two distinct persons may apparently be traced to Bale, who gives separate accounts of them, and makes Roger twenty-two years earlier than Ranulph. Bale does not himself charge Ranulph with plagiarism, but that accusation was made by Fuller, and repeated at greater length by Wanley. Modern scholars have generally supposed that the two persons are identical, the name Roger being simply an error, and the title Polycratica (which is meaningless as applied to a chronicle) merely a mistaken reminiscence of the Polycraticon of John of Salisbury. According to Babington, the name Roger is not written by the original scribe in any of the copies in the British Museum; nor in that at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; nor in that at Lambeth. The whole question is discussed by Babington in his introduction to Volume I. of the Edition of Higden in the Rolls Series; and summarised in the articles on Higden and Roger of Chester in the Dictionary of National Biography.”

Mr. Haverfield also writes to the same effect :—

“In all probability there never was such a person as Roger of Chester, author of Polycratica. His name and his book's name alike, arose from an error of some one who meant to name Ranulph Higden and his Polychronicon; by a slip of memory or writing R[anulph] of Chester was turned into Roger of Chester; and the Polychronicon (perhaps abbreviated) into Polycratica. . . . It is, all the same, roughly true that Higden was a great plagiarist. Nearly all the mediæval chroniclers were, except when writing contemporary history;

and only a little of Higden is contemporary. It would not, I think, be unfair to add that Higden is, perhaps, in this respect of plagiarism, rather worse than most of his fellows. His work is a sort of pleasant easy-going Universal History, which became very popular, but is not (even with respect to its age) critical or scientific, or really historical. In such qualities Higden is a long way behind the best mediæval chroniclers. The present value of his writings consists, I imagine, in a quantity of miscellaneous information, given here and there and anywhere, about various subjects; little interesting things. For one, he is the first writer who mentions Rycknield Street by that name. I suspect he made a blunder in doing so, but still the name has stuck."

I must apologise for having detained you so long. It was only when I had written the greater part of this paper, that it occurred to me that Mr. Deacle's earlier and contemporaneous paper might be found in the files of *The Chester Courant*; otherwise, I would have merely transcribed that paper, and given you the account in Mr. Deacle's own words.



Miscellanea

NOTES ON FOUR LEADEN WEIGHTS, OF SUPPOSED ROMAN ORIGIN, IN THE GROSVENOR MUSEUM, CHESTER

WITH special reference to the discovery of twenty small weights in the Roman encampment at Melandra, near Glossop, I am collecting information on the subject of the trade and coin weights of the Romans.

From the Catalogue of Bronzes in the British Museum, and the article on "Weights and Measures," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, it appears that the extant specimens of the ordinary trade-weights of the Romans are extremely diverse. Those of the Higher Empire average 4956 grains to the *libra*; the later Latin ones 4819. A set in the British Museum varies from 4700 to 5168 grains. Another set belonging together give the *siliqua* 2·87, *scripulum* 17·2, *sextula* 68·7, *uncia* 412, *libra* 4950 grains, respectively. A fine set of multiples of the *scripulum*, from 1 to 10 × 17·28 grains, shows a *libra* of 4976. Those of the same age (Augustan) are found to vary from 4971 to 5536 grains to the *libra*. Of those found at Melandra ten conform to a standard of about 4752 grains; the others appear to be coin-weights.

The weights of the coinage standard are always higher and more uniform. The oldest coin gives 5056; the Campanian-Roman 5054; Consular gold 5037; Imperial gold (*aurei*) 5037; Constantine *solidi* or *sextulæ*, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. *libra*, marked LXXII, A.D. 312, 5053; Justinian gold 4996 grains. The Roman *libra* was derived from the Greek *mina* ($= 2 \times 4825$), being about half.

Two bronze weights, found at Defenneh, in Egypt (TANIS, *Fourth Memoir of Egyptian Exploration Fund*, 1888, Part II., p. 93), of the Roman *uncia* standard, weigh 396·7 and 400·9 grains. These conform closely to those of the Melandra set, which give 396 and 405·6 grains, respectively.

It will be perceived that none of these examples approximate to the large weight of the Williams' Collection, No. 27, in Chester Museum, marked I, weighing 6722½ grains. If really a unit (as it is marked), this is a specimen of the Old English merchants' pound of 6750 grains, established in 1270 A.D., for all except gold, silver, and medicine; and superseded by avoirdupois (1 lb. = 7000 grains, and 1 ounce = 437½ grains) in 1303 A.D.

The lighter weight marked VIII, weighing 3240 grains, found at Vicar's Cross in 1885, corresponds to the *bes* ($= \frac{2}{3}$ *libra*) or eight *unciae* of the later Latin standard, and approximates closely to the *uncia* ($\frac{3240}{8} =$) 405 grains of the Melandra set.

The heavier weight marked VIII, weighing 3679·5 grains, found during excavations for the Museum, 20th July, 1893, has a recessed top, like several found at Melandra. It does not conform to any Roman standard for the *bes* or 8 *unciae*, but is near enough to represent the *dodrans* or 9 *unciae* ($\frac{3679\frac{1}{2}}{9} =$ 409 grains, and $409 \times 12 = 4908$ *libra*). On closer examination an obliterated mark may be found to read VIIII, which is sometimes met with for IX.

The other two masses of lead are rudely shaped and unmarked. The plano-convex disc found at Handbridge Church in 1885, weighing 4096·5 grains, is of a form commonly met with, supposed to have been used in some game. There are eight in the Museum at Cheshers, near Hexham, found at *Cilurnum*, of two sizes, one of each being found to weigh 3½ ounces and 7½ ounces, or 1640 grains and 3280 grains, respectively. These are multiples, and approximate to the *triens* ($\frac{1}{3}$ lb. = 1650 grains) and *bes* ($\frac{2}{3}$ lb. = 3300 grains) of the British Museum set, or ordinary mean standard of 4950 grains to the *libra*. Amongst recent finds in the Museum at Warrington there are two of similar shape, one of which weighs 11½ ounces

avoirdupois (which is the Roman *libra*) and the other 14 ounces (which is about $1\frac{1}{4}$ *libra*). The Chester specimen may be the *dextans* (= 10 *uncia*, 4125 grains).

The flat disc, weighing 6280 grains, and pierced close to the edge with a small hole for suspension, does not conform to any Roman standard, or resemble a weight in appearance, though it weighs about 15 *uncia* ($\frac{6280}{15} = 418$ grains *uncia* ρ), which closely approximates to the Saxon and Norman ounce, averaging 416.5 grains. It also approximates to 15 ounces or $\frac{1}{18}$ ths of the supposed Old English merchants' pound above-described ($\frac{1}{18}$ ths of 6750 = 6328 grains).

THOS. MAY.





ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1901-1902

SUMMER EXCURSIONS, 1901

The Summer Excursion took place on June 5th, 1901. Travelling in a saloon carriage by Great Western Railway, the party, which might well have been larger, reached Much Wenlock at 12-15, and was met by the Rev. D. H. S. Cranage, F.S.A., who at once led the way to the Church and gave a lucid account of the building, and of the way in which each century had contributed some part to the structure since the time of the Normans. The Church dates from the reign of Stephen, when a long aisleless Nave and square Chancel were built. The west front, hidden by a large tower in late Norman times, was most striking, having fourteen ornamental arches as a decorative arcading upon it. In the 13th Century a south aisle was added, separated from the Nave by a very fine but simple arcade of five bays. The eastern extremity of this is the Lady Chapel, of the Decorated period. At the end of the 14th Century the porch was built, with priest's room over it; whilst in the Perpendicular period the Chancel was extended, and a vestry built on the north side. The spire is an 18th Century erection. Other features of interest were pointed out, including the old clerestory windows discovered recently. After closely examining these different points, adjournment was made to the "Gaskell Arms," where luncheon was served. After luncheon, by the kind permission of C. G. Milnes Gaskell, Esq., the Priory was visited. On the way there certain interesting old houses in the street were pointed out, and a visit paid to the

ancient Council Chamber, with its quaint fittings, and with the stocks and pillory in the Market House beneath.

The first Religious House at Much Wenlock was founded near the end of the 7th Century, by S. Milburga, granddaughter of Penda, King of Mercia, and cousin of S. Werburgh; it was for nuns. In the 11th Century it was rebuilt as a semi-monastic foundation by Leofric, Earl of Mercia. Finally, it was refounded in 1180 by Roger de Montgomery as a Cluniac Priory, and so remained until the Dissolution. The earliest part of the present building is late Norman, 1170-1180, the most striking portions being the Chapter House and the beautifully carved lavatory near the Refectory. The Church is a little later but is almost entirely in ruins. The only parts which are at all complete are the South Transept, the west wall of the North Transept, and a portion of the south aisle of the Nave, which is covered by a remarkable chamber, probably the library of the Monastery. West of the North Transept is a crypt-like enclosure, probably a charnel house. The Church was very lengthy and lofty. The Choir is long, and ends in an ambulatory, which gave access to the Lady Chapel, a 14th Century addition. On the south side of the Choir is a hexagonal sacristy. The Infirmary range escaped destruction, and is now the residence of C. G. Milnes Gaskell, Esq. By the courtesy of Lady Catherine Milnes Gaskell the party were permitted to enter this building, and inspect some of the chief rooms. The most interesting part is the Infirmary Chapel, where the original altar and piscina may be seen *in situ*. This is now part of the hall or dining room. The north side of the building is Norman, and the east is a very fine 15th Century addition.

Leaving Much Wenlock, the party returned by train to Buildwas, where tea was served at the "Abbey Arms Hotel," a quaint roadside hostelry on the banks of the Severn. Immediately after tea, and in the most perfect of evening lights, the Abbey was visited, also under

the able and indefatigable guidance of Mr. Cranage. Dedicated to St. Mary and St. Chad, the Cistercian Abbey of Buildwas was founded in 1135 by the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Roger de Clinton. With the exception of the aisle walls of the Nave the Church is in a comparatively perfect state, and is practically of one period—that of its foundation—transitional Norman. It consists of a Nave of seven bays with aisles; Crossing, with low tower over; aisleless Presbytery of two bays; and north and south Transepts, with two Chapels each. The columns of the Nave, with the exception of the two easternmost, are circular, supporting slightly-pointed arches of two orders. The Clerestory windows are round-headed; as are those of the east end, a double tier of three lancets. The Nave, Aisles, and Transepts have been roofed with wood, but the Presbytery and Chapels have been groined in stone, the latter still retaining theirs. A beautiful sedilia remains in the Presbytery, apparently of slightly more recent work than the rest of the Church. As at Chester, the monastic buildings are on the north side, and consist of a Slype (or Sacristy?), the Chapter House, and a second Slype.

The remains of further buildings exist to the north and east of the Chapter House, of doubtful purport, but are incorporated in and about a modern private residence, and appear to be of rather later date than the rest of the Abbey. Nothing remains of the Refectory or Cloisters.

Not the least part of the interest in Buildwas are the many signs left of the old Cistercian ritual, and these Mr. Cranage did not fail to point out and explain; and to him, indeed, the success of the day was in a very great measure due.

EXCURSION TO BASINGWERKE ABBEY

So much had been said and written on the deplorable condition of the ruins of Basingwerke Abbey, that the Society determined to hold an Excursion there; and on

July 16th this was carried into effect, and proved, thanks to the glorious weather and the hospitality of the Holywell Urban Council, one of the most delightful outings the Society has ever had.

On reaching the Abbey, but a short walk from the Station, a halt was made before the very scanty remains of the west end of the church, whilst Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., read a short Paper on its history; and the party then proceeded to thoroughly explore the ruins, under the guidance of Mr. Edward Hodgkinson.

The Cistercian Abbey of Basingwerke was founded in or about 1157, and is supposed to occupy the site of a previous small religious establishment. Little remains of the Church, but sufficient to make out clearly the size of the Nave, Crossing, and South Transept; whilst, from the nature of the ground, the Choir must have been short, probably but of two bays in length.

As at Valle Crucis, the monastic buildings are on the south side, and consist of parts of Chapter House, Day-room, Kitchen, and Refectory; whilst to the east of the Kitchen run a long range of offices of massive half-timbered construction.

To the eye of the artist nothing can exceed the picturesqueness of some parts of the ruins, masonry and timbering lying about in superb tangles of wild vegetation; but, from the antiquary's point of view, it is pitiable to think that, unless a helping hand is speedily extended, few years must elapse before the total disappearance of this most interesting and beautiful building.

From Basingwerke St. Winefrede's Well was visited, under the kindly help of Father Borscht, and the Perpendicular Chapel and the old Parish Church were also inspected. A move was then made to the Town Hall, where the Society was welcomed and entertained to tea

by the Holywell local authorities. In returning thanks for the hospitable manner in which the Society had been received, Archdeacon Barber strongly urged the desirability of protecting the Abbey of Basingwerke from further ravages of time; and a resolution was unanimously adopted to the effect that the Society, having visited the ruin, expressed the hope that the Flintshire County Council would exercise their powers in assisting the effort that was being made to preserve the Abbey from further dilapidation. A vote of thanks to the Chairman, Mr. Joseph Jones, brought the proceedings to a close.

A description of the architecture of Basingwerke Abbey, with numerous illustrations, has unavoidably been postponed until the next volume.

VISITS TO THE CATHEDRAL

ON June 25th, 1901, the first of a series of visits was paid to the Cathedral, under the guidance of the Archdeacon of Chester. A goodly number assembled in the north aisle of the Choir, at 5-15 p.m., when the Archdeacon, after historical reference to S. Werburgh and the Religious House and Church which she erected, described the foundation of the Norman Church and Monastery by Hugh Lupus, under the direction of S. Anselm, A.D. 1093. Beginning at the east end of the Norman Apse (as it is marked out in the north aisle) the various Norman features were pointed out (as the traces of the Apsidal Chapel in the Canon's Vestry, the Triforium in the North Transept, and other remains), until the North-west Tower was reached, with its interesting arches, dating, probably, A.D. 1120. The staircase was then mounted, and the Norman Chapel inspected. This, which originally was attached to the Abbot's Lodge, was the private Chapel of the Bishop's Palace, until the death of Bishop Graham in

View from Nave into North Transept, Chester Cathedral :

**The view gives the Norman Triforium in the Transept, and in the foreground the
pre-Reformation Eagle-Lectern**

(See page 136)

From Photograph by Dr. Stottorfelt.

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1865. The Norman vaulting had been covered by plaster-panelling by Bishop Bridgman, who also added a sort of Chancel, in the style of architecture of his day. After viewing this interesting record of the past, and admiring the beautiful doorway (now a window into the Baptistry), the party descended, and entered the Cloisters. After looking at the arcading in the south walk, the Crypt (as it is generally called) was visited, and its massive pillars and groining much admired. This building, which was underneath the Abbot's Hall, for a long time served as a cellar, and some think that this was the original purpose for which it was erected.

On July 22nd, 1901, a second visit was paid, when the work of the Early English builders was considered. Meeting in the Lady Chapel, the Archdeacon pointed out the beauties of this elegant example of 13th Century work, and showed how some of them had been recovered by Sir Gilbert Scott, who had restored to their pristine form the lancet windows, which had been destroyed in Perpendicular times. In looking at the roof, the boss representing the Martyrdom of S. Thomas à Beckett was seen, whilst the apsidal termination of the groining at the west end (so as not to interfere with the east window of the Choir) was noted. S. Erasmus' Chapel, at the east end of the south aisle, was then visited, as showing how the Church had been extended, and how it terminated under the 13th Century builders. The Chapter House, with its beautiful vestibule, and the Frater or Refectory were then inspected, and in their turn admired. The stone-pulpit and staircase, in the south-eastern corner of the latter, was specially described as one of the most beautiful and interesting specimens of the kind in this country.

On October 26th, 1901, a considerable number assembled in the "Vaulted Chamber," which is under the Library of the present King's School. The Archdeacon again acted as guide, and stated that the chamber (recently restored by

the Dean and Chapter for meetings) was called, in a plan in the British Museum (taken shortly after the Dissolution of the Monasteries), "Strong beer cellar; over it Darby Chamber." In the same plan, the portion of the buildings through which it is now entered was called "the pantry," whilst the base of the north-west tower (entered from "the pantry" by a square-headed door, of which traces are left) was called "the wine-cellar." These apartments were all connected with the Abbot's Lodge. The groining of the Chamber, springing from two graceful columns without capitals, was much admired. Entering the Cathedral by the south-west porch, with its beautifully-restored fan-groining, the Consistory Court was visited. It was explained that the south-west tower, of which it forms the basement, was never carried higher. The quaint woodwork (of Bishop Bridgman's time?), with the raised canopied-seat for the Chancellor or his representative, and the somewhat insecure seat (for the witness or defendant), naturally attracted much attention. Leaving the Court, the Archdeacon pointed out some features of the Nave, and the evident marks of Abbot Simon Ripley's work, as shown by his initials in the capitals of the columns; and then passing up the north aisle described the marble mosaics with which it is adorned. Reaching the Chapter House, the Dean very kindly exhibited and described the narwhal tusk (formed into a processional Cross), which was presented to the Dean and Chapter by the late Duke of Westminster in 1889. The tusk is seven feet six inches in length and has been elaborately carved by a Flemish hand. The leading subject is the Incarnation, passing on to the Exaltation of the Cross, which seems to connect it with the Franciscan Order. A Jesse Tree occupies about three feet, and above this is seated the Blessed Virgin with the Holy Child. Higher up is the Cross, with the figure of our Saviour, whose countenance is full of compassion. Behind this representation of the Crucifixion is a figure of S. Michael the Archangel, thrusting down Lucifer with a Cross.

Above this come the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul and the four Evangelists; and nearer the point is carved St. Anthony of Padua and another monk holding up a Cross; the remaining space is filled with figures of angels, each of whom, in uplifted hands, holds a Cross. As St. Francis of Assisi, according to the legend, received the stigmata on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, it is more than probable that this curious and beautifully carved ivory belonged to some Franciscan Church. After a closer inspection of the carving by the members present, the Dean was warmly thanked for his courtesy and kindness in describing it.

On January 18th, 1902, a fourth visit was paid to the Cathedral. The members assembled in the Chapter House, where the Archdeacon read a Paper (given elsewhere) on the Cloisters. These were afterwards inspected, and the various features noted in the Paper pointed out and discussed. The Archdeacon then exhibited, at the Residence, some old Prints (dated 1813) of the Cathedral. These were interesting, as showing the state of the Church at that period. The Lady Chapel presented the appearance of a three-aisled Church, without an Altar. The Choir had square pews in front of the stalls, one, indeed, elevated on pillars over another which was beneath it; the base of the Bishop's Throne was S. Werburgh's Shrine, and was surmounted by the wooden-canopy of Jacobean times, evidently the work of Bishop Bridgman. The Nave was much as it is at present, save that it was devoid of seats, the Font of Bishop Morton of Kildare being at the top of the steps at the west end, where it has recently been replaced; but the Choir was separated off by a stone-screen, on which the Organ was placed. The view of the Chapter House showed a different arrangement of book-cases from the present, but proved that it was then used as a Library; whilst the surpliced figures were evidence that it was also used, as now, as a place for the clergy and choir to assemble in before and after service. The view of the

exterior of the Cathedral from the south-west was dignified, though much less elaborate than at present ; and the south window in S. Oswald's exhibits the Perpendicular tracery which then existed.

On February 26th, 1902, the Stalls, Misereres, and other woodwork of the Choir were inspected, and described in a Paper read by the Archdeacon, given elsewhere.

On March 31st, 1902, the South Transept was visited, and a description of the old and new work was given by the Archdeacon, which will be found in this volume.

At a Meeting of the Council, on October 8th, 1901, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Chairman reported that, since the last Meeting of the Council, Summer Excursions had been arranged to Much Wenlock, Buildwas Abbey, and Basingwerk Abbey, Holywell. A series of visits to the Cathedral had also taken place, and a further one was being arranged for Saturday, the 26th October next. The opening day of the Session was fixed for Monday, the 28th October, and it was suggested that Mr. F. H. Williams be requested to exhibit and describe the various objects in the collection of antiquities presented by him to the Society.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on October 28th, 1901, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the question of numbering the Stones in the Museum, so as to correspond with Mr. Haverfield's Catalogue, was considered, and Mr. R. Newstead kindly undertook to do the work.

Mr. Edward Hodkinson, the Hon. Curator, reported the presentation to the Society, by Mr. W. W. Tasker, of a Book on the Life of Matthew Henry, and a cordial vote of thanks was presented to Mr. Tasker for his kind gift.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on November 19th, 1901, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported the purchase of a silver coin (Roman

or Greek), but at present unidentified, found by a labourer in the neighbourhood of Upton; also a gift of a Jug and fragments of Roman pavement, &c., by Mr. W. F. J. Shephard, from some excavations on his premises in Bridge Street, Chester. The Hon. Curator also reported that, in order to further the early publication of the Journal, he had undertaken to assist the Editor by doing the clerical work, &c., in Chester, and it was thought by so doing the new Volume would be ready to be issued to Members early in the new year.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on December 17th, 1901, Dr. Stolterfoth in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported gifts to the Society of an Antique Glass Vessel, by Mr. J. Crowe, of the Waterworks, Chester, and an Edwardian Jug, by Mr. Ed. Jackson, of the Waterworks, Chester; and it was

Resolved:—"That the best thanks of the Council and the Members of the Society be presented to Mr. Crowe and Mr. Jackson for their kind gifts."

A letter was read from Mr. John Hargreaves, of Rock Ferry, applying for £5 on behalf of Mrs. Thompson-Watkin, who was in very needy circumstances; and it was decided to send him, on behalf of Mrs. Watkin, the sum of £5, upon the understanding that she was in immediate need of the money.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on January 3rd, 1902, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported that he hoped that by the January meeting, Volume VIII. of the Society's Proceedings, which was now in the Press, would be ready.

The arrangements for the remainder of the Sessional Meetings were discussed, and Dr. Bridge promised to give his Lecture upon "The Masque of Comus and Ludlow," on Tuesday, the 21st January next. It was decided, upon the occasion of this Lecture, that a limited number of seats be reserved for non-members of the Society, at a charge of 2/- each, the proceeds to be devoted to the Fund being

raised towards the cost of building the new room for the Curator of the Museum. The Secretary was requested to see Mr. J. D. Siddall, Mr. J. Simon, and Mr. W. F. J. Shephard with regard to the sale of the Tickets, and to advertise the Lecture in the local papers.

The Chairman (Venerable Archdeacon Barber) kindly undertook to arrange for a further visit of the Members to the Cathedral, when the Cloisters would be visited, and, if time permitted, the Old Prints, which were in the Residence, would be inspected.

The Secretary was requested, as Dr. Bridge's Lecture was not in manuscript, to engage a reporter to take down the Lecture verbatim, so as to be available for the next Journal.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on January 21st, 1902, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator reported a further visit to the Cathedral on the 18th January, 1902, when the Venerable Archdeacon Barber conducted the Members through the Cloisters, and read an interesting Paper thereon, and a vote of thanks was accorded to him for his kindness and trouble in doing so.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on February 25th, 1902, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Hon. Curator submitted a copy of the Journal, Volume VIII., which was to be immediately issued to the Members; and a very hearty vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Newstead for the great help he had given in indexing Volumes VI. and VIII.

The Secretary reported that the proceeds of Dr. Bridge's Lecture, "The Masque of Comus," delivered on January 21st, 1902, amounted to £8 14s., and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Dr. Bridge. It was

Resolved therefore:—"That the Hon. Treasurer be requested to send a cheque for £10 as a donation towards the fund being raised for the building of a new Work-room for the Curator of the Museum."

At a Meeting of the Council, held on March 18th, 1902, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the Chairman referred in terms of sympathy to the death of Lady Lloyd, wife of Sir Horatio Lloyd, and the Chairman was requested to convey to Sir Horatio the sincere and respectful sympathy of the Council in his bereavement.

The Hon. Curator reported the presentation by Mr. W. H. Meeson, of Eastgate Row, Chester, of an Old Print of Chester Cathedral; and the Secretary was requested to convey to Mr. Meeson the thanks of the Council for his kind gift.

Mr. Henry Taylor undertook to communicate with the Rev. Canon Morris as to whether he could give his promised Paper next month (April). Meanwhile, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber kindly undertook to conduct the Members of the Society over the St. Oswald's portion of the Cathedral, on Easter Monday afternoon.

A letter was read from Miss M. C. L. Williams, of Bodelwyddan, Rhuddlan, Hon. Secretary of an Exhibition which it is proposed to hold at Rhyl, illustrative of the history of Denbighshire and Flintshire, enquiring if our Council would make a loan of any antiquarian objects from our Museum which would be of interest to them for the Exhibition.

Mr. Newstead reported that he had been through the Museum, and he suggested that the following objects would be useful to them :—

- (1) Roman Pig of Lead, bearing name of Flintshire tribe—Deceangi ;
- (2) Antefix or Gable Ornament, bearing badge of Twentieth Legion ;
- (3) Roofing Tiles, bearing stamp of Twentieth Legion ;
- (4) Mortarium ;
- (5) Cinerary Urn ;
- (6) Small Case of Bronzes (Personal Ornaments, &c.)

And it was resolved to lend them upon the understanding that an attendant should accompany the objects from

Chester to the Exhibition and back again, Miss Williams paying all necessary expenses, and taking all responsibility for their safe keeping and return; and that the objects should be placed under glass whilst on exhibition.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on April 11th, 1902, Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the following gentlemen were elected representatives of the Council upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee for the ensuing year, viz.:—Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, Mr. F. Skipwith, and Dr. J. C. Bridge.

The Secretary submitted the Annual Statement of Accounts of the Society, made up to the 31st March, 1902, and they were passed, subject to audit. It was decided to hold the Annual Meeting on Tuesday, May 13th, 1902, at 7-30 p.m.; and Archdeacon Barber kindly undertook to read a Paper on "Ralph Higden: the discovery of his Tomb in Chester Cathedral, with some interesting particulars and correspondence connected therewith."

A letter was read from Sir Horatio Lloyd, thanking the Council for their kind letter of condolence in his bereavement.

The Summer Excursion was discussed, and Ludlow was suggested as a likely place. The arrangements were, however, left to the Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. R. Newstead, and the Secretary.

The Rev. H. Grantham kindly offered to meet the cost of labelling the stones, &c., belonging to the Society at the Museum; and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to him for his kind offer.

Minutes of the General Annual Meeting of the Members of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, on Tuesday, May 13th, 1902:—

Present: Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair; Dr. H. Stolterfoth, Mr. Edward Hodkinson, Mr. W. E. Brown, Mrs. Brown, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. R. Newstead, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mrs. Bridge, Mr. T. B. Blower, Mr. W. W. Tasker, Mr. A. W. Butt, Mr. John Rogers, and others, and the Secretary, Mr. Walter Conway.

A letter of apology for non-attendance was read from Mr. R. A. Yerburch, M.P.

The Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting of the Members, held on May 28th, 1901, were read, affirmed, and signed by the Chairman.

The Annual Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report, and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, were read, and it was Proposed by the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. Henry Taylor, and

Resolved:—"That the Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, be received, approved, and adopted."

It was Proposed by Mr. W. E. Brown, Seconded by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, and

Resolved:—"That the Rev. H. Grantham, Rev. Canon Cooper Scott, Dr. H. Stolterfoth, Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., and Mr. W. W. Tasker, be re-elected Members of the Council."

It was Proposed by Dr. Stolterfoth, Seconded by Dr. J. C. Bridge, and

Resolved:—"That Mr. G. W. Haswell be re-elected Hon. Auditor for the ensuing year."

It was Proposed by Mr. Edward Hodkinson, Seconded by Mr. W. W. Tasker, and

Resolved:—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the donors of books and objects of antiquarian interest during the past year."

It was Proposed by Mr. A. W. Butt, Seconded by Mr. T. B. Blower, and

Resolved :—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the President, Vice-President, and officers of the Society for conducting the affairs of the Society during the past year, and to the Chairman for presiding."

Mr. J. B. Kennedy, Dee Bank House, Chester, and Mr. W. Huxley, 12, City Walls, Chester, were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Wheeler and Mr. Compton, Vergers of the Chester Cathedral, were elected Honorary Members of the Society, in recognition of their services in conducting the Members over the Cathedral upon the many visits of the Society.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

IN submitting the Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st March, 1902, the Council have pleasure in recording not only a particularly interesting Session with regard to the Papers that have been read, but the increasing interest which the Members themselves have taken in the various Meetings and Excursions.

During the Session six Meetings have been held, and the following Papers read :—

October 28th, 1901.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"Exhibition and description of the various objects in the collection of Antiquities recently presented by Mr. Frank H. Williams to the Society," by Mr. Frank H. Williams.

November 19th, 1901.—Chairman: Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"King Alfred," by the Rev. W. S. Johns, M.A., Rector of Plemstall, illustrated by Lantern Slides.

December 17th, 1901.—Chairman : Dr. Henry Stolterfoth.
Subject—"The latest discoveries at Wilderspool," by Mr. Thomas May, illustrated by Lantern Slides.

January 21st, 1902.—Chairman : Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"The Masque of Comus, with notes on Ludlow and the neighbourhood," by Dr. Joseph C. Bridge, M.A., illustrated by Lantern Slides, and the original Music to "Comus" by Henry Lawes.

February 25th, 1902.—Chairman : Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"Ralph Higden (the Chester Monk), Author of the Chester Mystery Plays," by Mr. Edward Powell, illustrated by Lantern Slides.

March 18th, 1902.—Chairman : Ven. Archdeacon Barber.
Subject—"The Chester Miracle Plays; some facts concerning them, and the reputed authorship of Ralph Higden," by Dr. Joseph C. Bridge, M.A.

By making a charge for admission to non-members to Dr. Bridge's Lecture, on January 21st, the Council were enabled to grant a sum of £10 to the fund which was being raised for providing better accommodation for the Curator of the Museum.

The Summer Excursion took place on June 5th, 1901, and proved most interesting; Much Wenlock (with its Priory, Parish Church, Guildhall, &c.) and Buildwas Abbey being visited. The thanks of the Society are specially due to the Rev. D. S. Cranage, M.A., F.S.A., who acted as guide, and to C. Milner Gaskell, Esq., for his courtesy in granting permission to see the Priory at Much Wenlock.

An afternoon Excursion was made on 16th July, 1901, to Basingwerke Abbey, when the Members were hospitably entertained by the Holywell Urban District Council.

The recommendation of the Council "that more frequent Excursions to inspect the many objects of interest in the

City should be arranged," has been carried out; and under the guidance of the Archdeacon of Chester, six visits have been paid to the Cathedral, and the various points thoroughly examined and explained. It is intended that a permanent record of these Excursions should be published in the Journal of the Society.

The Council have to report the issue of Volume VIII., New Series, of the Journal; and to express their obligations to the Editorial Secretary, Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A., for his labours in connection therewith.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts is submitted, shewing a deficit of £49 11s. 10d.

The following gentlemen have been elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, viz.:—Ven. Archdeacon Barber, Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, M.A., Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, Mr. F. Skipwith, and Dr. J. C. Bridge, M.A.

Under Rule 4 the following Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election:—Rev. H. Grantham, Rev. Canon Cooper Scott, Dr. Stolterfoth, M.A., Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., and Mr. W. W. Tasker.

The Council, whilst thankfully recording the fact that new Members have been elected during the past year, again appeal to all Members to do their utmost to induce others to join, and thus to place the Society in a better financial position.

The Council desire to record the thanks of the Society to the donors of the various objects presented during the past year; and also to Mr. Siddall for kindly illustrating, with the Lantern, the Papers read.

THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

I HAVE not the pleasure this year to be able to record any great additions to our Collections, either in Antiquities or Books. A few Coins, pieces of Pottery (Roman and Mediæval), have come to hand; and it is pleasant to note again that workmen seem to have fallen into the habit of bringing things they have unearthed direct to the Museum of their own accord.

Our Library is enlarged yearly by an increasing number of exchanges—something like twenty volumes annually; and we subscribe, as before, to *The Antiquary*, *The Cheshire Sheaf*, *The Index Library*, and the *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*.

EDWARD HODKINSON,
Hon. Curator and Librarian.



CHESTER & NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL & HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the Year ending 31st March, 1902.

RECEIPTS.	
£	s. d.
To Subscriptions—1900	2 12 6
" " 1901	94 9 0
" Dividend on London and North-Western Railway Stock	97 1 6
" Proceeds of Dr. Bridge's Lecture	20 7 9
" Sale of Catalogues	8 14 0
	0 5 2
	<hr/>
	126 8 5
Balance—deficiency, carried to next Account	49 11 10
	<hr/>
	£176 0 3

PAYMENTS.	
£	s. d.
By Balance brought forward from last Account	53 8 1
" Grosvenor Museum Management Committee	60 0 0
" Museum Expenses and Repairs	3 6 0
" Purchase of Pottery, Old Coins, &c.	1 1 0
" Subscriptions to Antiquarian Societies.....	2 7 0
" Printing, Postages, and Stationery	16 1 4
" Secretary's Salary.....	15 15 0
" Museum Management Committee—Donation towards Fund for erection of new Workshop for Curator	10 0 0
" General Expenses.....	1 14 10
" Excavating.....	2 0 8
" Cost of Illustrations to Lectures	5 12 6
" Miscellaneous Expenses	4 4 10
" Prints for Society's Journal	0 9 0
	<hr/>
	£176 0 3

MAY 12TH, 1902—Examined with the Vouchers and found correct,

F. SKIPWITH,

HON. TREASURER.

GEO. W. HASWELL,

HON. AUDITOR,

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1902.

- Baker, Miss, 2, Grey Friars, Chester
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List of Illustrations

Frontispiece—Monument to His Grace the late Duke of Westminster, K.G.,
South Transept, Chester Cathedral, looking south-east

	Page
Bosses in the North Walk of the Cloisters, Chester Cathedral: Agnus; Pelican; Initials of Thomas Marshall; Head of Our Lord (?) -	10
The Arms of Cardinal Wolsey, on a Boss in the North Walk of the Cloisters, Chester Cathedral -	12
South Walk of the Cloisters, with Carrells, looking west, Chester Cathedral -	14
South Walk of the Cloisters, with Carrells, looking east, Gloucester Cathedral -	14
South-east corner of Cloisters, Chester Cathedral -	16
Lavatory—North Walk of Cloisters, Chester Cathedral - . . .	16
Miserere, from the Choir Stalls of S. Lawrence, Ludlow - . . .	20
Miserere, from the Choir Stalls of S. Lawrence, Ludlow - . . .	22
Miserere, from the Choir Stalls of S. Lawrence, Ludlow - . . .	28
Canopies of Stalls, Choir of Chester Cathedral -	46
Canopies of Stalls, Choir of Lincoln Cathedral (with Figures recently added, and Columns supporting the Canopies) -	46
“Return-Stalls,” Chester Cathedral -	48
Bench-end to the Vice-Dean’s Stall, Chester Cathedral: Pelican feeding her Young, repeated again and again -	50
Bench-end to the Archdeacon of Macclesfield’s Stall, North-east of Choir, Chester Cathedral: On the edge is a Jesse Tree, and in the panel The Annunciation -	52
Bench-end to the Dean’s Stall, Chester Cathedral: A Jesse Tree, leading up to the Coronation of the Virgin; the elbow or arm-rest represents a Palmer -	55
Elbows or arm-rests to bench-ends, Choir of Chester Cathedral: Seraph with six wings (Isaiah, vi. 2); Lion; Elephant, with Houdah, the trunk broken off; Monster swallowing another; Beast swallowing Miser with his Money-bags; S. Werburgh (?); A Palmer; Winged Dolphin (?) -	56, 58
South Transept, Chester Cathedral, stone-groining in Western Aisle (Plan) -	100

	Page
South Transept, Chester Cathedral, oak-groining in centre (Plan)	102
South Transept, Chester Cathedral, stone-groining in Eastern Aisle (Plan)	105
Boss in stone-groining in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral: The Baptism of Our Lord	106
Boss in stone-groining in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral: The Transfiguration of Our Lord	108
Boss in stone-groining in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral: The Resurrection of Our Lord	110
Boss in stone-groining in Western Aisle, South Transept, Chester Cathedral: The Ascension of Our Lord	112
Higden's Tomb (from east, looking down), in South Choir Aisle, Chester Cathedral	115
View from Nave into North Transept, Chester Cathedral: The view gives the Norman Triforium in the Transept, and in the foreground the pre-Reformation Eagle-Lectern	136



INDEX

A

- Abbots, ref. to Tombs of, in Chester Cathedral, 9
 "Adam and Seth," ref. to, in the "Cursor," 65
Armaria in Cloisters, Chester Cathedral, 9
Armarius or Librarian, 7
 Arneway, John, ref. to, in proclamation concerning the Chester Miracle Plays, &c., 76, 78, 81, 83
 Arrow-head Makers or Fletchers, 27

B

- Bakers, Company of, 62
 Bale, John, Bishop of Ossory, 74
 Banes or Banns announcing Miracle Plays, 79
 Barber, The Ven. E.—The Cloisters of Chester Cathedral, 5—19 (see also Chester Cathedral)
 — Chester Cathedral: The Stalls, Misereres, and Woodwork of the Choir, 46—58 (see also Chester Cathedral)
 — The South Transept of Chester Cathedral, 99—114 (see also Chester Cathedral)
 — The Discovery of Ralph Higden's Tomb, 115—128
 — Visits to Chester Cathedral, 136—140

- Barnaby House, ref. to legend, 26
 Bebington, Wm. de, 121
 Bedford, William, writer of transcript of Miracle Play, 72
 Belfry, 14th Century, at Ludlow, 44
 Bellin, George, writer of transcript of Miracle Plays, 72
 Beverley, ref. to Miracle Play at, 60
 Birchenshawe, John, Abbot, 12
 Blunderville, Randle, 85
 Brackley, Lord, part played by in "Comus," 33
 Bridge, Joseph C.—The Chester Miracle Plays; some facts concerning them, and the supposed authorship of Ralph Higden, 59—98 (see also Miracle Plays)
 — Ludlow and the Masque of Comus, 20—45 (see also Ludlow)
 Bridgeman, Sir John, Chief Justice, Tomb of, in Ludlow Church, 23
 Bridgewater, Earl of, 30
 Brome, MS. copy of Play at, 69
 Bromfield Priory, 44
 Buildwas, ref. to position of Cloisters in, 8
 Butler, Samuel, Author of "Hudibras," 27, 41
 Burials, Customs of, in or under walls, 122
 Byland, ref. to Cloisters at, 8
 Byrchehylls, Thos. de, 121

C

- Cappers, 75
- Carlisle, ref. to Cloisters at, 8
- Carrells, Position of, in Cathedrals, 14
- Cathedral, Chester, The Cloisters of, 5—19 (see Chester Cathedral)
- Chester Cathedral, The Cloisters of (The Ven. E. Barber), 5—19
- Passage through western end of Refectory to, 5; Cloister-garth, 6; Original purpose of, 6; *Scriptoria* in, 6; Novices taught in, 6; Traces of Nine-holes, or similar game, by door in Nave, 6; Perpetual silence in, at Clairvaux, 7; Windows in, 7; Use of, attached to Churches, 7; Usual site of, 7, 8; Traces of in Norman times, 8, 10; *Armaria* in, 9; Tombs of Abbots in, 9; Royal Arms of Henry VII. and Cardinal Wolsey in, 12; Carrells in, 14; Lavatory in and Water-supply to, 16, 17; Spruce-garden, 18
- The Stalls, Misereres, and Woodwork of the Choir (The Ven. E. Barber), 46—58
- Former position of Choir, 46, 47; Of the Sedilia and Aumbry, 47; Elevated Pews in, 47; Condition of Stalls before Restoration, 48; Date of Stalls, 48; ref. to Troppas' illustration of the original columns supporting the canopy-work, 49, 50; Stalls of the Dean and Vice-Dean, 52, 55; Misereres, 53—55; Figures forming armrests, 56; Pulpit and Altar, 56, 57; Roof of, 57, 58
- The South Transept of (The Ven. E. Barber), 99—114
- Date of, ascribed to Abbot Richard Seynesbury, 100; Description of, as a Parish Church, 103, 104; Various stages of reparation, 105; Description of Bosses in groining, 105, 112, 114; Windows in, 106, 114
- Visits to (The Ven. E. Barber), 136—140
- Chester Miracle Play, 23
- Miracle Plays, The; some facts concerning them, and the supposed authorship of Ralph Higden (Joseph C. Bridge), 59—98
- Probable sources of inspiration, 59—73; The evidence as to Higden's authorship, 73—98; The opinions of experts, 86—93; Music and the Miracle Plays, 93—98; Earliest allusion to Plays, 62; List of Chester MSS. extant, 72; Proclamations concerning the Plays, 75—78; Banes or Banns announcing Plays, 79; Documentary evidence connecting Hig-

den with the Plays, 86; The fall of Lucifer, 94; The Creation and Fall, 94; Noah's Flood, 94; Shepherds, 95; The three Kings 95

- Christ Church, Canterbury, ref. to position of Cloisters in, 8
- Churchyard, Thomas, Soldier and Poet, 20
- Clairvaux, ref. to, 7
- Claustrum*, 5
- Cloister-garth, 6
- Cloisters of Chester Cathedral, 5—19 (see also Chester Cathedral)
- Coffins of Oak, 123
- Comus, Ludlow and the Masque of, 20—45 (see also Ludlow)
- Hall in Ludlow Castle, 29
- Compostella, ref. to Pilgrimage to, 26
- Cooper, John (Giovanni Coperario), 31
- Coperario, Giovanni (John Cooper), 31
- Copleston, Dean, 103
- Cordwainer's Company, Ludlow, 27
- Corpus Christi*, Feast of, 62, 80
- Coventry, ref. to Miracle Play at, 60, 70
- "Creation" Play, The, 63
- Croyland, ref. to Cloisters at, 8
- Curator and Librarian, Report of, 149
- "*Cursor Mundi*," 64, 65, 67

D

- Dinant, Sir Joce or Joyce, 28
- Durham, ref. to position of Cloisters at, 8

E

- Easby, ref. to Cloisters at, 8
- Edward the Confessor, Window representing legend of, at Ludlow, 23
- Tomb of, in Westminster, 24
- Egerton, Lady Alice, part played by, in "Comus," 33
- ref. to, 42

Egerton, Sir Philip, 31
 Egerton, Sir Thomas, 31
 Egerton, Thomas, part played by, in
 "Comus," 33
 Ely, ref. to position of Cloisters, 8
 Evesham, ref. to Cloisters at, 8

F

Fountains, ref. to Cloisters at, 8
 France, Mystery and Miracle Plays
 in, 65
 Francis, Sir Henry, 84
 Furness, ref. to Cloisters at, 8

G

Geneville, Johanna de, 43
 Gloucester Cathedral, Carrells in, 16
 Greek *mina*, 129
 Gregorie, Edward, writer of transcript
 of Miracle Plays, 72
 Guild, Palmers, at Ludlow, 26

H

"Harrowing of Hell," The Play, 63
 Heggenett, Don Randle (see Ralph
 Higden)
 "Hell," "Harrowing of," 63
 Henry VII., Arms of, in Cloisters,
 Chester Cathedral, 12
 Higden, Ralph, The Chester Miracle
 Plays; some facts concerning
 them, and the supposed author-
 ship of (Joseph C. Bridge), 59—
 98 (see also Chester Miracle Plays)
 Higden, Randle (see Ralph Higden)
 Higden, Roger, 115 (see also Higden,
 Ralph)
 Higden's (Ralph) Tomb, The dis-
 covery of (The Ven. E. Barber),
 115—128
 Higgenett, Randle, 78

Hikeden or Higden, 85 (see Higden,
 Ralph)
 Holme, Randal, 78
 Howson, Dean, ref. to Burial in
 Cloister-garth, 18
 "Hudibras," ref. to Author of, 27

I

Irish Saints, Bones of, in Ludlow
 Church, 21

J

Johnson, Ben. 32
 Johnson, Bishop, 104
 Jones, Inigo, 32
 Joseph, The Story of, 65

K

Kirkstall, ref. to Cloisters at, 8

L

Lacy, Roger de, 28
 Lawes, Henry, 31
 Ludlow and the Masque of Comus
 (Joseph C. Bridge), 20—45
 Tug-of-War between the different
 Wards of Town of, 21; Church at, 21;
 Tumulus in, 21; Bones of "Irish Saints"
 in Church, 21; Misereres in Church, 22;
 Window representing legend of Edward
 the Confessor, 23; Tomb of Sir John
 Bridgeman, 23; Representations of Pal-
 mers in Church of, 24; Customs of, 25,
 26; Guild of, 26; ref. to Cordwainers,
 Fletchers, or Arrow-head Makers, 27;
 Carvings on old-timbered houses in, 27;
 ref. to History of the Castle of, 27—30;
 Prince Arthur's Chamber in, 29; Masque
 of Comus performed in Castle, 31—
 41; Milton's share in the Masque, 32;
 Characters in Masque, 33; Description
 of neighbourhood of Ludlow, 42—45;
 Stokesay Church, ref. to covered Pews
 in, 44; Comus connected with Chester, 45
 Ludlow Church, 21—24
 Bones of "Irish Saints" in, 21;
 Misereres in, 22; Window in, repre-
 senting legend of Edward the Confessor,
 23; Tomb of Sir John Bridgeman in, 23;
 Representations of Palmers in, 24

M

- Manchester, Stalls in Cathedral of, 51
 Manning, Robert (le Brunne), 61
 Mapes, Walter, 61
 Marshall, Thomas, Abbot, Arms of,
 on boss in Cloisters, Chester
 Cathedral, 12
 Masque, What is a ? 31
 May, Thomas—Notes on four leaden
 Weights of supposed Roman ori-
 gin, in the Grosvenor Museum,
 Chester, 129—131
 Miller, James, 72
 Milton, connection between, and Lord
 Bridgewater or Ludlow, 32
 Minshull, Elizabeth, third wife of
 Milton, 45
 Minstrels, Guild of, 93
 Miracle Plays, The Chester ; some
 facts concerning them, and the
 supposed authorship of Ralph
 Higden (Joseph C. Bridge), 59—
 98 (see also Chester Miracle
 Plays)
 — Cycles of York, Chester, Wake-
 field, and Coventry, 59, 60
 Mortimer, Roger de, 28
 Mortimer, Roger, 42

N

- Newcastle-on-Tyne, ref. to Miracle
 Play at, 60
 Nine-holes, ref. to Game of, 6
 — Traces of, in north walk of Clois-
 ters in Westminster, 6
 "Noah's Flood" Play, The, 63
 Norman, ref. to work of, in Chester
 Cathedral, 8—10

P

- Papers read 1902, List of, 146, 147
 "Paradise" or Churchyard, Meaning
 of, 18
 Pennant, ref. to Chester Plays, 76

- Peterborough, ref. to Cloisters at, 8
 Pewterers, 75
 Pembridge, Township of Ludlow, 44
 Piers Plowman, ref. to Ralph Higden,
 85
 Plantagenet, Richard¹⁰¹, 43
 Polychronicon, Higden's, 67
 Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII., 30
 Prince of Wales' Feathers, Use of, in
 Ludlow Church, 22
 Proceedings, Abstract of, 132—146
Processus prophetarum, 65

R

- Randall, Done (Higden), 81, 82
 Randall the Monk (see Higden, Ralph)
 Randolph, Earl of Chester, 85
 Refectory, 5
 Report of the Council, 146, 147
 — of the Treasurer, 148
 — of the Curator and Librarian,
 149
 Ripley, Abbot Simon, 48, 100
 Roman—Notes on four leaden Weights
 of supposed Roman origin, in
 the Grosvenor Museum, Chester
 (Thos. May), 129—131
 — *dextans*, 131
 — *dodrans*, 130
 — *libra*, 129
 — *scripulum*, 129
 — *sextula*, 129
 — *siliqua*, 129
 — *solidi*, 129
 — *triens*, 130
 — *uncia*, 129
 Rondall, Done (see Ralph Higden)
 Ryckniel Street, 128

S

- Sadlers, Company of, 62
 Saints, Irish, Bones of, in Ludlow
 Church, 21

Salisbury Cathedral, Vicar-choral of, 31

Scriptoria, 6

Scotland, Prince Henry of, 30

Seynesbury, Abbot Richard, 100

Shap, ref. to Cloisters at, 8

Sidney, Sir Henry, 29

Smiths, 75

"Sprice," corruption of "Spruce" or Cypress, 18

Sprise-garden, 18

St. Bridget, Altar of St. Mary in, 102

St. Catherine, Miracle Play of, 92

St. John's Chapel, Ludlow. 23

St. Leonard, Altar of, 102

St. Mary, Altar of, in Church of St. Bridget. 102

St. Mary Magdalene, Chapel of, 102, 106

St. Nicholas' Church, 100, 102

— Desecration of, 103

St. Oswald, Church of, 102

St. Oswald's Parish, Monks hemmed in by boundaries of, 8

St. Winifred's Well, Legend of, 26

Stokesay, ref. to covered Pews in Church of, 44

Street, Rycknield, 128

T

Taylors and Shearemens Pageant, Songs of, 97

Treasurer's Report, 148

Trevor, Randle, Book of Whydson Plaies demanded of, 72

Troppas, Lithograph by, of Cloisters, Chester Cathedral, 49

Tug-of-War between Wards of Town of Ludlow, 21

V

Vaughan, Richard, Earl of Carbery, 41

W

Wakefield, ref. to Miracle Play at, 59, 64, 70

Wand, Hazel, in Higden's Tomb, 124

Water-supply to Lavatory in Chester Cathedral, 14, 16, 17

Weights, Notes on four leaden, of supposed Roman origin, in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, 129 —131

Welsh Marches, ref. to, 20

Westminster, ref. to Cloisters at, 8

Whydson Plaies, 72

Wolsey, Cardinal, Arms of, in Cloisters, Chester Cathedral, 12

Worcester, ref. to position of Cloisters, 8

Wykenham, William, objecting to Miracle Plays, 61

Wymonham (or Windham), Annual Play at, 75

Y

York, Edmund, Duke of, 43

York, ref. to Miracle Play at, 59, 70



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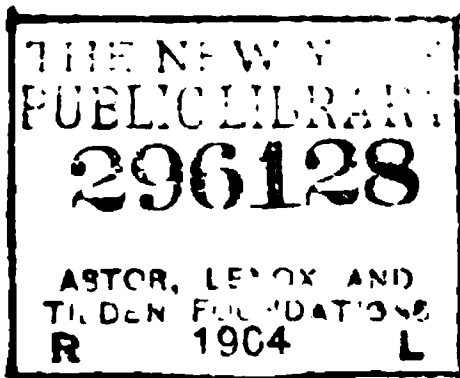
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1904



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This Volume has been edited by the Hon. Editorial Secretary, the Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A., who takes this opportunity of thanking Mr. Newstead for preparing the Index, which has been a heavier task than usual. To Dr. Stolterfoth and Mr. Newstead warm thanks are due for the Illustrations.

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Table of Contents

	PAGE
GLEANINGS FROM THE MUNIMENT ROOM OF THE TOWN HALL OF THE CITY OF CHESTER (STUART PERIOD). By Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., F.S.A. - - - - -	5—12
CHESTER IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES; BEING NOTES ON A NUMBER OF RECENTLY DISCOVERED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CITY, DATING FROM THE YEAR 1178. By Wm. Fergusson Irvine - -	13—52
THE ANCIENT GLASS IN THE CHURCH OF S. MARY-ON-THE- HILL. By the Ven. E. Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester - - - - -	53—67
S. WERBURGH AND HER SHRINE. By the Ven. E. Barber, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester . - - - -	68—85
GEORGE LLOYD, D.D., BISHOP OF CHESTER 1605-1616. By the Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A. - - - -	86—100
TEN EARLY CHESTER DEEDS, 1270-1490. By Henry Taylor, F.S.A. - - - - -	101—116
OBITUARY. His Honour Judge Wynne Ffoulkes - - -	117—119
ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1902-1903 - - - -	120—142
EXCURSIONS - - - - -	120—130
COUNCIL MEETINGS - - - - -	131—137
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL - - - - -	137—140
THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT - -	140—141
BALANCE SHEET - - - - -	142
LIST OF MEMBERS - - - - -	143—148
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS - - - - -	149—150
INDEX - - - - -	151—162

Gleanings from the Muniment Room of the Town Hall of the City of Chester (Stuart Period)

BY THE REV. CANON MORRIS, D.D., F.S.A.

(Read 21st October, 1902)

ANON MORRIS said his gleanings had been chiefly gathered from the 'Treasurers' Accounts and Assembly Orders, which, by the kind courtesy of the Mayor and Corporation, he was allowed to inspect.

He confined himself to items connected with the social life of Chester, omitting political items, such as the siege of Chester. The picture revealed to them was that of a city with streets badly paved and ill-lighted; foul and objectionable refuse; the walls decayed; the gates in a dangerous condition; disturbed not unfrequently by the turbulence of soldiers who were awaiting a fair passage to Ireland; crowded by an unsavoury horde of vagrants; and made horrible by the sight of gibbets, on which the heads and quarters of executed criminals were fixed. They saw how much there was of vigorous life in the citizens, who played no inconsiderable part in the history of England. They were brought into contact with most of the great nobles and statesmen who made history in

the Stuart period. He asked them to compare the safety and comfort of Chester in 1902 and its electric light installation, with the Chester of 1610. and for many years after, when the treasurer disbursed to one John Rees, for tending the City lantern, 2s. 6d.¹; for six pounds of candles, 2s. 3d. Four years later 12d. was paid to redeem the City lantern, impawned by the sexton of St. Peter's for 2s. They would understand how necessary it was on dark nights, when the other parish lantern—the moon—was not lighted, to have a supplementary light; and the Mayor had a frequent charge on the city funds for links to light his way from banquets and from his official visits—he never paid himself. In 1516 a dozen links cost 5s. The need of such lighting was shewn by an order issued in 1673, which directed that all benches and show-boards should be made with hinges, and folded up in the night time, to prevent any hurt or mischief that might happen to any person travelling in the rows or streets after dark.

In the daytime it was no less distressful by reason of the frequent holes and the heaps of mud and filth. There were old regulations about the cleansing of the streets, which came down from the Plantagenet and Tudor times. The order for the re-enactment of these regulations became especially stern when the scare of the plague was felt; but the City soon fell into its filthy habits of old days. In 1666 the Company of Glovers complained to the City Council that divers persons had allowed dirt to be put into the channels; and that heaps of dirt were placed at the Copplegate and at the ends of the Dee Mills, whereby the river

¹ "1617. Candells for the Citties Lanthorn at the new Staies 2,6." "1620. Payd Adam for the Cittye Lanthorne iii^s iiij^d." "1686. Mending the Cittie Lanthorn 1/6."

was choked, and that the fishings in the river were much impaired and damaged. The Council ordered that the offenders be fined 3s. 4d. for such offence; and that the constables give notice in their respective wards; and that the bellman publish the same. Provision was also made for scavenging. In 1670 Mr. Mayor proposed that three scavengers for the cleansing of the City be appointed. Two of them were allowed £16, and the third £20. The whole amount of £52 was set against the respective wards, with regard to the quality and ability of the persons in it. At a later assembly it was ordered that no inhabitant should be charged or rated above 1s. quarterly.

Chester had now a well-organized fire brigade; but in the period under consideration, when fires were numerous and more dangerous by reason of the abundance of wood, the City had to depend upon a scanty supply of buckets and the assistance of volunteers. Each freeman, on admission, paid 10d. towards the cost of the fire-buckets, which were kept in the Pentice. In 1638, 6d. was paid for the "carriage 50 of the Citty's buckets from Northgate Street where the fire was to the Pentice"; and the following year £2 13s. 4d. for the repairing of 50 buckets "which were spoyled att the fire in the Northgate Street." In 1670 it was ordered, for the security of the City, that all houses then erected, or to be erected later on, in Foregate Street, Eastgate Street, Northgate Street, Watergate Street, and Bridge Street, should be covered with slate or tiles, and not thatch.

Constant complaints were to be found of the encroachments upon the streets by posts and projections, and unauthorised building on vacant plots of ground

belonging to the City. That was particularly noticeable after the devastation caused by the long siege. A typical instance of impudent and persistent encroachment was that made by Randle Holme. It was the subject of many discussions at the Council Meetings, and in 1670 it was resolved that "the Treasurers doe forthwith cause the nuyance erected by Mr. Randle Hulme, in his new Buildings in the Bridge Street, to the great annoyance of his neighbours in hindring their prospect from their houses, to be taken down." In 1671 he was fined £3 6s. 8d. for his contempt and disobedience in proceeding with his building contrary to the commands of Mr. Mayor. In 1672 he was ordered to pay 5s. rent for his encroachment. In 1686 carpenters were paid 7s. for pulling down Mr. Hulme's encroachment.

Referring to the number of vagrants, he said that in 1628 notice was taken of the "multitude of poor, vagrant and idle people that of late resort unto this City and reside here, more than in former times, not only to the hurt of such poor of the City as by the law ought to be relieved, but also to the scandall of good government." The constables of every ward were directed every month at the least to make search in their several wards for those who did harbour or lodge such poor people, and present their names, together with the number of poor people, to the alderman of their ward. An early attempt was made in 1625 to deal with the difficulty, when the alarm of plague seized upon the citizens of Chester. In that year the gates of the City were watched night and day for a long time, that no Londoners or no wares should enter the City. Many who came from London had to stay in barns and stables for a month, to see if they were clean from infection. All householders were required to watch at the gates in their own person, and

if any were absent they had to hire, or otherwise provide, civil and sufficient freemen to watch in their place. The number of the watch at each gate was four, both day and night, and at other places so many as shall be directed by Mr. Mayor. Each watch lasted twelve hours, from six o'clock to six o'clock. Extra precautions were taken at fair time, an alderman, a sheriff's peer, and one of the Council being added to the ordinary watch three days and nights before and after the fair. The same orders were issued six years later, but discontinued in the following February, and resumed in 1636, with further precautions and heavier penalties, and the great fair of Michaelmas was stopped.

It was interesting to compare the modern system of ambulance with the rude provision made in 1693, when "Christopher Back, Constable of Northgate Ward, disbursed since May 23, fourpence for conveying a sick woman on a barrow in June"; and twopence for the same duty on August 8; and August 15 threepence for a barrow "for 2 poor gerles"; and "August 25 for a barrow" to carry "two sick women." The same constables reported that there were in St. John's Ward 14 bachelors, no widows, one widower, from whom they obtained fines of 1s. each, except from Mr. Randle Ravenscourt and Mr. Robert Warburton, who were mulcted in 6s. each. St. Michael's Ward had eight bachelors, who paid 6d. each, except Councillor Lloyd, who paid 13s.; St. Mary's Ward four bachelors, who were fined 1s. each.

With reference to the attendance at Council Meetings, the speaker remarked that in 1630 the attendance was very lax, and fines were frequently imposed. The same complaint was made in 1641, 1666, and 1667; while

there was no record of meetings between November 1667 and May 1668; and between February 1673 and September 1674. That irregularity seemed to point to a very unsettled state of affairs in Chester. The citizens were either very much engaged in business of their own, or were anxious to evade responsibility for measures passed, by absence from the meetings.

In 1672 more than one citizen refused to take the oath of allegiance, notwithstanding heavy fines of £40 and £50. In 1628 the tailors complained that there were too many of them to live comfortably in the City, and, after a long dispute, the alderman and steward of the linen drapers were committed to prison in the Northgate for defiance of the Mayor.

With regard to the City's finance, the 'Treasurers' accounts in 1639 shewed the comparative prosperity of the City. The total income was £593 3s. 1d., and the expenditure £664 6s. 7d. The Mayor's salary was £13 6s. 4d. The Roodee suffered severely from high tides in 1614 and 1620, and large sums were expended on making it safe. In 1625 two labourers were paid 2s. 6d. for mending the cross on the Roodee, and for filling up and levelling the ground where the stones were taken up. In 1631 serious complaints were made as to the condition of the Eastgate; and in 1667 the under-keeper of the Northgate petitioned that the prison be repaired sufficiently for the safe custody of the prisoners. In 1671 the prisoners were removed to the Eastgate, which was to be the City prison until further orders. In 1675 £255 1s. 6½d. was spent upon the Northgate, shewing that the citizens were rather slow in making repairs. The largest items of expenditure were on the many entertainments given to great nobles and other distin-

guished visitors.¹ Half-a-pound of the best tobacco cost 20s. ; while in 1639 sugar was 2s. 3d. a pound.

Canon Morris then read several interesting items provided at an entertainment, consisting of sack, claret, white wine, and loaves of sugar and almonds. The most costly entertainment was that given on the occasion of King James II.'s visit in 1687, when the expenses amounted to £257 17s. The City flag or "ancient" used on these occasions was "monstrous fine." Randle Holme was paid 7s. for devising the City's Arms upon the flag; and in 1622 he was paid £4 18s. 11d. for a new "ancient." The City drum was a much-suffering instrument, and had to be repeatedly renewed.

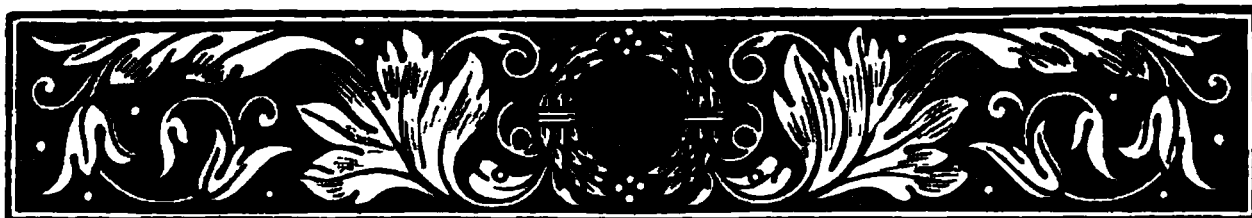
The Midsummer Show became a time of great riot, and in 1666 it was ordered that members of the "Forty," or belonging to any company, should, during the time of the show, accompany the leavelookers, or pay 10s. each fine. Any member of the companies behaving disorderly was fined 5s. The wooden glove, now in the Liverpool Museum, has had a chequered career. It was the usual custom to give notice of the fair, held on the last Thursday in February, by hanging the glove out. In 1685 two gentlemen were sent to the Castle to demand the glove from the Governor, who had caused it to be taken down.

We had this year been celebrating the Coronation of King Edward VII., and people of all classes had

¹ "1609. Sugar bestowed on the Prince of Germany." "1618. Banquett to entertain Earle of Oxford £3 10 0. Wyne & Sugar 22/8. Beare & Rushes 2/6. A loaf of Sugar given to the Earle 13/2 at 16d. Scouring the 25 dozen of pewter plates 12d, for oyle 2d." "1619. 15 July, Wine & Suger sent to Earl of Derby; 16 July. Suger and divers sorts of sweete meates sent the Countes from ye Maior £3 4 7." "1625. To Mr. Wm. Gamull's man for wyne bestowed on the Lord Prymate when he was in Chester by Mr. Maior's appointment iiij^s, 1st Sugar bestowed on the Lord Prymate xvjd." "1668. 200 and a half cheese to send to London £1 10 2."

celebrated it loyally. Very different was the case 300 years ago. King James I. died in 1625, and the accession of Charles I. was proclaimed by the Sheriff, who stood at the foot of the Cross, to the sound of drums and trumpets, the Mayor and the Earl of Derby and other citizens standing round about. In 1630 all knights and freeholders and many aldermen and "subsidie" men were called before the Commissioners for the non-appearance at the Coronation of the King, and paid £10 and £5 apiece, as they could agree with the Commissioners.

They would conclude with him that, prosperous as the citizens were then, and despite the pomp and ceremony and banquetings and junketings, at the expense not of the Mayor but of the worthy citizens themselves, and merry though England was for the most part in that period, our lot had fallen in pleasanter places, and that we indeed, in most respects, were better off than our fathers as regarded the comforts and conveniences of life.



Chester in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries; being Notes on a number of recently discovered Documents relating to the City, dating from the year 1178

BY WM. FERGUSSON IRVINE,
HON. SECRETARY OF THE RECORD SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE
AND CHESHIRE

(Read 18th November, 1902)

THE documents here printed appear to be a portion of the muniments of the family of Erneys, an ancient Chester family, which eventually ended in an heiress, who carried the lands and these Charters which referred to the lands, into the family of Norris of Speke. In the 16th Century one of the Astons, of Aston near Frodsham, married a daughter of the house of Speke, and as part of her dowry these Chester lands seem to have gone. From the time they were carried from Speke to Aston Hall until the present day these Charters do not appear to have been handled, except, possibly, by Sir Peter Leycester, when compiling his "Antiquities of Cheshire." Through the kindness of Mr. Hervev Talbot of Aston Hall, who is the lineal descendant and representative of the Astons, I have had the privilege of examining and transcribing some of them, and short abstracts in English will be here found printed. The originals are now safely housed in the British Museum, where they are being arranged and catalogued.

The documents are of very great interest, and constitute a practically unique collection, so far as the City of Chester is concerned, since nearly 100 of them relate to lands and houses in Chester of a date prior to the year 1300; and many of these are between the years 1178 and 1250, a period which, at present, is nearly a blank in the history of Chester.

Another feature which renders them of great value is the fact that, in many cases, the original Seals are still attached, and in a beautiful state of preservation. Several of these relate to monastic institutions in the City, and were unknown to the compilers of the Catalogue of Seals at the British Museum; and some, apparently, have never been seen, or at all events recorded, by antiquaries before.

It would be obviously impossible within the compass of this paper to even begin to draw attention to the various points of interest in each Charter. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that material for a complete article lies in each one of the first five. Especial mention, however, may be made of No. I. (reproduced here in facsimile) and No. V., with its wonderful list of seventy witnesses.

While this paper was in the press, my attention has been drawn to a collection of early Chester Deeds relating to St. Mary's Nunnery, which are printed in the Volume of Patent Rolls for 1399-1401, just issued from the Stationery Office. These are of the utmost value as bearing on a number of the Charters here printed, and any student working at this period should not fail to consult them, in conjunction with the documents which follow.



1. Grant of Hugh Bart of Chester to Dean nephew *in part* of 300lb
[c. 1170].

Since I have occasion to differ from Canon Morris more than once in these pages, as to the years in which certain Mayors and Sheriffs filled their offices, I feel it only right to speak of the great debt which I, in common with all workers at Chester history, owe to Canon Morris for his invaluable book on *Plantagenet and Tudor Chester*. It is only, in the nature of things, that later discoveries should, occasionally, throw fresh light on this still very obscure period.

I. Hugh Earl of Chester¹ to his Constable, Seneschal, Justiciar and all his Barons, sheriffs and all his bailiffs and to all his men both French and English, as well present as future Greeting. Know ye that I have given granted and by this my present charter confirmed to Pagan nephew (*nepoti*) of Isold and his heirs in fee and in hereditie to hold of me and of my heirs the land which belonged to Lander, which Pagan the Sheriff held and which is between the land of Harn and the land of William son of Holdebur freely and quietly rendering annually XVI pence for all services And I will and firmly decree that the said Pagan shall be free customary tenant (*liber custumarius*) for that land and his heirs after him, and that he have full customary liberty in fee and in hereditie with quittance from toll, from taking and guarding prisoners from taking distresses, from carrying writs, from doing night watch and from all other customs and vexations that he may have all customary liberties in all my city as freely as any of my citizens. Witness Robert Abbot of Chester² and John the Constable,³ William Patric,⁴ Alwred de Cumbrai,⁵ Ralph fitz

¹ Hugh Kyveliok succeeded his father in December 1153, at which time he was a minor. The Pipe Rolls show that his lands were held in farm of the Crown down to 1162. He is said, in the *Annales Cestrienses*, to have been born as late as 1147. He was imprisoned for rebellion 1173-7; and died 1181.

² Robert, Abbot, 1175-1184.

³ John de Lacy, 1172-1190.

⁴ William Patric, witness to Earl Hugh's grant to Nuns of Bolinton, (*Ormerod*, Helsby, Vol. I., p. 27; see also footnote, p. 31). Also witness to Charter 1200-2 (*Morris*, p. 481).

⁵ Witness Earl Hugh's Charter (*Ormerod*., Vol. I., footnote p. 31).

Warner,⁶ Richard de Luvetot,⁷ Thomas Dispenser⁸ (*Dispensator*), Frumbald de Ridford,⁹ Bertram Chamberlain¹⁰ (*Camerarius*), William the Clerk¹¹ and many others.

[Seal gone; traces shew it to have been 2 inches in diameter. Document $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches long \times 7 inches wide].

II. M[ary] prioress and the humble Convent of [c. 1200]. Holy Nuns of Chester to all sons of the Holy Mother Church etc. greeting. Know that we have granted etc to Gilbert Lombesfot and Leceline his wife and their heirs that messuage [*masura terrae*] in the Parish of St. Peters which is between the messuage [*masura*] of Thurstan the son of John and the messuage [*masura*] of Gunware which Linild the wife of Baldwin held, in fee etc Rendering to God and St. Mary and to us annually 4 shillings in silver—at the Nativity and the Nativity of St. John in equal portions. Witnesses, R. Prior of Birkenhead [*Bircheveth*], Andrew the chaplain of St. Peters, Ralph Saracen, Rualt, Randle Dubeldai, William son of Alan, Robert son of Arnewei, Hamo son of With, William son of Walter of the Venell [*de Venela*], Nicholas son of Robert, Thomas his brother, Robert son of Raynold, William the Clerk son of Robert, Austin [*Augustinus*] of St. Peter, John the Clerk of St. Mary, Philip Lombesfot, John Lombesfot, and others.

[Large oval seal, in green wax; + SIGILL ECELESIE MO + NIALIS CESTRIE]. See No. 1 on Plate of Seals.

⁶ Witness to Earl Hugh's Charter of Prestbury to St. Werburgh's (*Ormerod*, Helsby, Vol. I., p. 27).

⁷ One of Randle Gernons arbitrators in dispute with Earl of Leicester, 1151 (*Ormerod*, Vol. I., p. 23).

⁸ Witness to sundry City Charters (see *Morris*, p. 481-2).

⁹ Frumbald, witness to Earl Hugh's Charter (*Ormerod*, Vol. I., p. 27).

¹⁰ Bertram Chamberlain, witness to Earl Hugh's Charter (*Ormerod*, Vol. I., p. 27).

¹¹ William the Clerk, witness to Earl Hugh's Charter (*Ormerod*, Vol. I., p. 27).

No. 1, Page 16. II.

No. 2, Page 28, XXIII.

No. 3, Page 18, IV.

No. 4, Page 18, IV.



III. Sciant etc. Thomas son of Richard son of Ralph [c. 1220]. grants to John son of Norman for 14½ marks in silver four shops against [*contra*] the Church of St. Peter, namely those towards the Church of St. Werburgh. Rendering annually to grantor 4d. at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, With freedom to alienate without licence. Witnesses Philip de Orreby¹ then Justiciar of Chester, Stephan Frenelle then Sheriff of Chester,² William the Clerk, Ralph Saracen, Germain Dubeldey, Robert son of Erney [*H'nis*], Bertram Mercer, Luke son of Norman, William son of Norman, and others.

[Small round seal, in green wax; four heads of eared-corn, arranged cross-wise, with lanceolate leaves alternating; legend, + S' THOME F' RICARD].

IV. Universis etc. Hugh³ etc Abbot of Chester [c. 1225]. etc. grant to Simon son of William of Spalding [*Spaldinges*] three bovates of land in the vill of Morsetun, two bovates which Orm the Chamberlain held and one bovatē which Swein held with all appurtenances etc and one messuage in Chester against [*contra*] the gate of St. Werburgh, which Richard of Grendon [*Grendun*] held. Rendering annually to the house of St. Werburgh a half a mark of silver at two terms, viz. S.S. Peter and Paul and St. Martin. Witnesses, Hugh the Subprior, William of Wallasey [*de Waley*], Robert of Weston [*de West'*], Thomas of Chedle [*de Chelleia*], Roger Frend,⁴ Philip de Orreby then Justiciar, Peter the Clerk, Richard the Sheriff,⁵ Master Alar the Official, Master John of St. Mary, Master Hugh the Younger [*Juvene*], Robert of Pinchbeck [*de Pincebec*], Richard Swineherd [*Porcarius*], Gilbert son of Geoffrey, and others.

[Two vesica-shaped seals: (1) a figure of St. Werburgh in grave-cloths, legend, SIGILLVM: SANTE: [WERB]VRGE:

¹ He appears to have been Justiciar between the years 1209 and 1228 (*Ormerod*, Vol. I., p. 61).

² Canon Morris mentions this Sheriff as *inter* 1202-31.

³ Hugh Grylle, Abbot of Chester from 1208 to 1226.

⁴ Roger Frend was a monk, and eventually became Abbot 1240-1249.

⁵ Richard the Sheriff—probably Richard Pierpont, Sheriff of Cheshire.

VIRGINIS; (2) an Abbot, legend, SIGILLVM HVGONIS. ABBATIS CESTR[IE?] secretum, a classical gem, legend, + GRACIA DEI SVM ID QVOD SVM].⁶ See Nos. 5, 3, and 4 on Plate of Seals.

V. Notum sit etc. Adam son of Hamon son of [c. 1225]. Herbert the Skinner [*Pelli Parii*] of Chester [*in Cestria*] quitclaims in full Portmoot to Nicholas son of Herbert and his heirs all his lands within the walls of Chester and outside for three marks of silver given in hand. Witnesses, Philip de Orrebi then justiciar of Chester, P[eter] the Clerk, Chancellor of the Earl, Richard then sheriff, Richard of Rochester [*de Rouchist'* or *Routherist*], Bertram the Chamberlain, Anketil [*Hancketin*] of Pulford, Hamo son of With, Athelard of Lundris, Martin of Rhuddlan [*Ruthelen*], William de Bello campo, Hugh son of Jan, John Person, Robert Bras, Roger Harre, William the Clerk, Hugh son of Buchard, William Oxford [*Ox'n*], Andrew Russel, Nicholas of Kent, Hugh Kibus, Alan son of Roald, Bertram his brother, John de Wicc' [?], Hugh son of the Priest [*Sac'd'*], Toui, Roger Person [*P'son*], Roger the Smith, Robert son of Herward, Richard of Bamville [*de Pamvile*], John the Goldsmith [*Aurifab'*], William Mercer [*Mercen'*], William Slop' [?], Hugh son of Ralph, Luloth, Adam the Chaplain, Jermain and William his brother, Hugh Stape, John the Clerk, Thomas the Clerk, Brice and Andrew his brother, Simon of Kend, William son of Andrew, Thurstan son of Oscot, Geoffrey son of Massel', Robert son of Thurstan Duke [*Duc*], Richard his brother, Richard son of Pain, John son of the Northman [*Northm'*] and William his brother, Gregory Galioch, Fulk, Hamelin, Roger Caiep [?], Daniel, Hugh Wolf [*Lupus*], Bertram the Clerk, Robert Clerk of Kirkeby, Richard Clerk of Heswall [*Heslewalle*], Gregory of Kent, Simon Phales, Suan the Clerk, Jan Pec, Thomas the Clerk of Hawarden'⁷ [?], William the White Baker [*albo Furner*],

⁶ The legend on the Secretum is from the Vulgate, 1 Cor. xv., 10; the full text is *Gratia autem Dei sum id quod sum*.

⁷ This entry is obscure, and runs: *Thoma cler Har'* or *Bar'*. It may be either Thomas the Clerk of Hawarden or of Barrow; or it may even be that there should be a full stop between *cler* and the next word, in which case it should read as two separate names: Thomas the Clerk and Bar. or Har.

V. Quitchlain of Tadam son of Tadam son of Herbert the Skinner
[c. 1225].
(Size slightly reduced)

2. Versus, Photo

William the Clerk, Thomas the Chamberlain, Robert son of Ernise, Robert son of Robert son of Ernwey, Andrew his brother, Bertram Mercer, Raynold Bras, Robert de Hokenhull, Roger the Smith, Walter Bucharð, Hugh son of Andrew Gardin, then Judges of the Portmote of Chester, Basset the Clerk, and others.

[Round seal, in white wax (broken), bearing in the centre either an eagle with wings elevated, or a griffin passant regardant].

VIII. Sciant etc. Simon son of Elene daughter of [c. 1230]. Francis Balle grants to Hugh de Lecy citizen of Chester a messuage in Chester lying between the messuage which belonged to John son of Nicholas Orne[?] and the messuage which belonged to Austin [*Augustinus*] son of Ivo [*Yuonis*]. Rendering annually to grantor one pair of white gloves or an halfpenny at Easter, doing the services due and accustomed to Sir Henry de Audley [*Alditheleg*]. For this grant he gave to the said Hugh six marks of silver and a half and one tunic [*tunica*]. Witnesses, Stephen Frednel then Sheriff, Hamo the Seneschall [*Dispensator*] then his fellow,¹ Philip the Clerk, Sir Henry de Audley, Robert de Rithale[?], William the Clerk, Robert son of Ernis, Richard his brother, Simon de Kent, Nicholas his brother, Robert son of Thurstan, Walter Bucharð, Ralph son of the Sheriff[?], Roger the Clerk and others.

[Circular seal, in green wax, a fleur-de-lys; legend SIGILL SIMONIS FIL ELINE]. See No. 6 on Plate of Seals.

IX. Sciant etc. Laurence the Younger [*Junior*] sells [c. 1230]. for three marks in silver to William Saracen his land in Chester lying between the land of the said William and the land of the Nuns and Gerrards lane² [*Gerardislon*']. Paying annually to the Abbot of Chester

¹ We have here the earliest example hitherto known of two Sheriffs.

² Gerards lane was, roughly speaking, parallel with Northgate Street, behind the Town Hall.

No. 5, Page 18, IV.

No. 6, Page 20, VIII.

No. 7, Page 34, XXXIII.

See No. 8 in List of Seals
(at end of Paper)

10

14 pence in silver at the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle. Witnesses, Stephan Frenell [*Fres'*] then Sheriff of Chester, William the Clerk, Hamund Herre, Master Thurstan, Geoffrey the Clerk, and others.

[Small round seal, in green wax, a star of eight points; legend + SGIL LAVRENCII IVVENIS].

X. To all sons of the Holy Mother Church to whom [c. 1240].¹ these presents may come Brother Roger, then Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Chester without the Northgate, and the Brethren there serving God send greeting in the Lord. Know all men that we by the common counsel and consent of our chapter have given and conceded and by this our present charter confirmed to William de Bacfort, son of Adam the Parson, and his heirs our land which we have by the gift of Sir Adam de Gerstan for his homage and service—to wit the messuage of Edric son of Auel and the croft appertaining thereto and one croft in which are five acres which extend unto the lord's meadow and the moiety of the fishery which is between the fishery of Robert son of Thurstan and the fishery of Thurb. To have and to hold etc., rendering annually twelve pence in silver at St. Martin. Witnesses, Adam de Gerstan, Adam de Aynull' (probably Aynull[vesdale]), Alan de Mosse, Richard de Liuerpul, Henry de Thorint[on], Richard de Bikerstat, Adam the Clerk of Bacfort, and many others.

[Contemporary endorsement] Charter of the Prior of the Hospital of Chester concerning the land of Gerstan made to W. de Bacforde.

[Attached to the deed is a fine impression of the Convent seal (see No. 11 on Plate of Seals), including the lamb and cross within a circle, held in the Saint's right hand, as shewn in Canon Morris's book ("Plantagenet Chester," p. 154). Fortunately the inscription

¹ A reference to the Coucher Book of Whalley, p. 578, shews this same charter, which is followed on p. 580 by a confirmation of a subsequent grant of the same land made by William de Backford, dated 1240. It is clear, therefore, that this charter must be earlier than 1240; probably, however, only a year or two.

is better preserved in this impression, and reads as follows : SIGILL SANCTI IOH[ANNIS] HOPIT: CES[TRIE]—between the last two words the circle containing the lamb is intruded].

XI. Sciant etc. Thomas son of Thomas Kyde quit-claims to Gilbert de Spalding all his land in [c. 1240]. Chester in the venal leading towards the Grange of the Abbot and Convent of St. Werburgh in Chester on the south side [*versus australi*] lying between the land which belonged to Richard son of Pagan and the land which belonged to John the Bailiff of Blacon [*Blakene*]. Consideration three marks. Witnesses, William the Clerk, German Dubelday, William Saracen, Thomas Chamberlain, Robert son of Ernise, Randle of Oxford [*Oxonia*], Walter of Coventry, Roger son of Fulk, William Bercio[?], Alexander Herre, Guy [*Wydo*] son of Hamo, John son of Osgot, William of St. Botolph, and many others.

[Round seal, in green wax; a fleur-de-lys; legend, + S' TOME FIL TOME KYDE].

XII. Sciant etc. Henry Sacristan¹ [*Secrista*] of [c. 1240]. Chester, chaplain grants to Alice sister of Robert Kel a certain burgage in the vill of Chester without the walls, viz that which lies in breadth between the land of John Hurkel and the land of Cecilia Consuterti[?] and in length from the foss of Chester wall [*a fossato muri Cestrie*]² to the road which leads from the East Gate towards the Church of St. John to hold to herself and her heirs begotten between her and William the Tailor [*Cissor*] grantors son, with remainder in case of default to said Alice and her right heirs. Rendering to grantor annually one pair of white gloves at the Feast of Nativity of St. John Baptist and to the House of St. Mary's Nuns in Chester three shillings in silver at two

¹ Henry Secrista', perhaps the Sacristan of St. John's [see Matilda de la Hay's Charter, c. 1256].

² Foss of Chester Wall. Canon Morris says this refers to the foss dug during the Barons' War.

terms viz. 18d. at Christmas and 18d. at Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, William the Clerk, Germain Dubilday, Randle of Oxford, Robert son of Erneys [*Hernicii*], Walter son of Bochar, Henry Henit' [?] of Middlewich, Nigel the Palmer [*Palmifero*], Richard le Mynur, Robert le Porter, Hugh son of Walter, Robert Thowe, Roger son of Fulk, and others.

[Seal gone].

XIII. Sciant etc. Gilbert Pigot son of William Pigot [c. 1240]. grants to John son of John son of Norman all that land that lies between Bereward Lone and the land of Geoffrey Mazelin in the City of Chester for 10/-. Rendering annually 12d. at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, Stephen Freynel then Sheriff of Chester, William the Clerk, German Dubelday, Walter Pincel, Robert son of Ernis, Bassett the Clerk, Roger son of Fulk the Clerk, and others.

[¹Small round seal, in green wax; full diam. $1\frac{7}{16}$ in.; a beast (either a talbot, lion, or wolf) passant sinister, a crescent in chief; legend, + SIGILL
 . . GOT].

XIV. Sciant etc. Adam Mustel² demises to Ronulph (c. 1250]. of Esseburne [?] clerk half a messuage in Chester etc. which other half R[onduph] himself holds of Sir William de Cortenay and Joan his wife, viz. which lies between the messuage of Henry Byberinenlis and that of Laurence Young [*Juvenis*]. Rendering 5/- in silver at two terms (S^t Michael and Easter) for all duties and customs etc except rent of fair booths etc. Witnesses Sir Henry Mustel, Peter of Stapley [*de Stapelleya*], Walter Lineth³ of Chester, Richard the Clerk, John Urkel then Sheriff of Chester, John le Noble, Robert de Wyco.

¹ This seal is designed with much freedom, and the beast has a long tail, gracefully curved.

² Under Egerton Family ("Cheshire Visitation," 1580, *Rylands*, p. 92), Adam Mustel occurs temp. H. 3, as holding lands in Nantwich.

³ Though it is not so stated, this Walter Lineth or Lynnett was no doubt Mayor of Chester, with Richard the Clerk and John Urkel as Sheriffs.

[Small round seal, in green wax; ten roundels (4, 3, 2, and 1); legend, + s . . . M. DE: MVS . . .].
See No. 10 on Plate of Seals.

XV. Omnibus etc. Robert son of Matthew with the
[1251]. consent of his wife and his heirs demises to
Cicely Godeweith a certain piece of land in
Chester lying between the land of Walter Pointel and the
land of Hugh of Hoole [*de Hole*] in "Estgate strete" for a term
beginning at Michaelmas A.G. 1251¹ for two marks of silver,
and ending at Easter next following. Witnesses Robert the
Wise Mercer [*le p' de m'cer'*],² Stephen Saracen, then Sheriffs
of Chester, Randle of Oxford [*de Oxonia*], then Chamberlain,
Randle Dubleday, John son of Hurkil, John of Newcastle,
Richard Pain, Alexander Herre, and others.

[Seal gone].

XVI. Sciant etc. John son of Thurstan son of Lece
[c. 1255]. grants to Yseude formerly wife of Peter Colefox
widow all his part in that land which Thurstan
son of Lece left to Alice his daughter and which after the
death of the said Alice was divided by final concord between
grantor and Geoffrey son of Robert son of Thurstan, viz that
part which lies between the land which belonged to Ralph
Harper [*Citharedus*] and the land which belonged to Lece wife

¹ This is the first dated charter in the series, and the date may be fixed with confidence as being a few days before Michaelmas 1251. We are thus able to definitely supply the names of two Sheriffs earlier than any hitherto existing.

² The name is a curious one. Elsewhere it occurs *in extenso*, and is Robert le Prude Mercer. This has been translated by some as the Proud Mercer, an impossible rendering, *Prude*, at this time, having the signification of *wise, discreet, or great*, but not *proud*. He is probably identical with the Robert le Mercer and Robert Mercenarius who occurs frequently for the next thirty or forty years. Mercenarius has also been mistranslated by former writers, being rendered "the Mercenary." *Du Cange*, however, shows that *mercenarius* is only another form of *Mercerius* and *Mercator*. In the *Annales Cestriensis* (Rec. Soc., Vol. XIV., p. 86), is a curious reference to this Sheriff, where he is called *quisdam maledictus nomine Roberti Merceri tunc vicecomes civitatis*, because he urged the pulling down of certain houses belonging to St. Werburgh, in Bog Lane, as a step in the defence of the city.

See No. 9 in List of Seals
(at end of Paper)

No. 10, Page 24, XIV.

No. 11, Page 21, X.

of Robert son of Simon. Paying 3d. annually to the Chief Lords and 4/4 to the Nuns of Chester. Consideration 2 marks and 4od. Witnesses, Richard the Clerk then Mayor, Robert Mercer and Stephen Saracen, Sheriffs, Robert Harald, William Freinelle, Richard Colefox, Thomas de Linch [?], William Painter [*Pictor*], Alexande Harre.

[Circular seal, in brown wax; an eagle, statant regar-dant, with one wing extended; legend, S: IOH: FIL: TVRSTANI].

XVII. Sciant etc. Matilda formerly wife of John son of Thurstan son of Lece in pure widowhood quit-claims to Lady Yseude wife of William Pinson [*Pi'cu'*] all lands which John her husband and Geoffrey Corin sold to the said Yseude in "Norgatestrete" in Chester, and which land lies between the land which belonged to John Grund and the land which belonged to John Arnway [*Erniwei*]. Witnesses, Richard the Clerk¹ then Mayor of Chester, Richard de Orebi and Robert Mercer [*M'cer'*] then sheriffs, Philip the Clerk, Robert Harald, Hugh Cardi, Alexander Harre, and others.

[Seal gone].

XVIII. Universis etc. Lady [*Domina*] Matilda de la Hay prioress of the Holy Nuns of Chester and the Convent etc. grant to William son of Henry the Chaplain formerly sacristan of the Church of St. John in Chester for his homage and service a certain plot of land in St. John Street Chester with all buildings etc. lying between the land of John Ulkel and the land of Warin son of Halden which Wiht Palmer gave to us with Eva his daughter. Rendering annually three shillings in silver at the 2 terms, viz. the Nativity and the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, William the Clerk² Mayor of Chester, William Sarazen, Ger-

¹ We have again here a Mayor and two Sheriffs who do not appear in Canon Morris' list. If this list can be relied on, the date of the above charter must be before 1256, from which date the list is complete.

² According to Canon Morris William Clerk was Mayor about 1251.

main Doubleday [*Dubbeld*], Andrew son of Hurel, Robert his brother, Robert Bussel, Dimoc son of Brice, Raynold son of Raynold the Smith, and others.

[Large vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; virgin and child; legend, CONVEN LIVM CESTRIE].⁸

XIX. ⁴Omnibus etc. Hugh de Len grants to Dore daughter of Robert son of Erneys [*Hernisi*] for [c. 1256]. her homage etc all that land in Eastgate Street [*in vico orientali*] in Chester which grantor bought of Simon son of Helen lying between the land which belonged to Austin [*Augustinus*] son of Ivo [*Yvonis*] and the land which belonged to John Blund. Rendering annually to Sir Hugh de Audley [*Alditheleg*] and his heirs 12d. in silver and to grantor's heirs a pair of white gloves or one halfpenny. Witnesses, Sir William the Clerk then Mayor of Chester, Adam Vintner [*Vinit*] then Sheriff, German Dobeldai, Randle of Oxford [*de Oxon*], Roger son of Fulk, Robert son of Erneway, Bertram of Shrewsbury [*de Salopisbury*], Robert son of Thurstan, Walter Buchard, Walter of Coventry, Richard and Gilbert Saracen, Simon of Kent, Nicholas his brother, John Blund, Richard son of Erneys [*Hernise*], Pagan of Bucklow [*de Boclou*], Bertram the Clerk, Alexander Harre [*H're*], and others.

[Seal small round, in green wax; an animal passant; legend, SIGIL: HVGONIS DE LEN]:

XX. ⁵Sciant etc. Wymarc formerly wife of John Tailor [Cissor] in pure widowhood etc. grants to [c. 1257]. Hugh Tailor [Cissor] half her house, that half nearer the land of Ralph Harding which lies behind the selda⁶ of John Grund, in length from the said selda to the house where he lives 27 feet clear [*pedes palpatos*] and if the said

⁸ A poor example of the second seal of the Convent.

⁴ Compare Charter No. XXIX., dated 1274.

⁵ Compare Charter No. XXVII.

⁶ For the meaning of *selda*, see this Journal, Vol. VIII. N.S., p. 51.

Wymarc at the fair of St. Michael throw down the wall, within the wall six and a half feet in length. Consideration 6½ marks. Rendering annually to grantor ½d. at the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, ¹Richard the Clerk then Mayor of Chester, Stephen Saracen, John Hulkel then Sheriffs, Bertram of Shrewsbury [*de slop'bur*], Robert the Mercer, John Faund [?].

[Vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; an eight-pointed star; legend, + S' WIMARC FIL: ROBERTI].

[Endorsed Carte de t're Wymarci le Taylur; contemporary endorsement].

XXI. Sciant etc. Margery Faukes quitclaims to [c. 1260]. Richard of Rhuddlan [*de Ruthelan*] citizen of Chester all her right to that land which Luce her daughter gave to the said Richard, viz the land which lies next the land of Beatrice daughter of Pagan in Eastgate Street [*in magno vico orientali*] in Chester. Witnesses, ²Richard the Clerk and Gilbert Marescall then Sheriffs, Walter de Coventre, Randle of Oxford [*de Oxon'*], Robert the Mercer, Robert of Hoole, Simon of Kent, Hugh Cardi, Alexander Harre, and others.

[Vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; a floral design; legend, ERIE SPELL . . .].

XXII. Sciant etc. Robert son of Robert son of Simon [c. 1260]. grants to Walter Brian certain land in "Norgate strete" lying between the land of John Blund and the land of Robert Tailor [*Talliatoris*] opposite the city gate of St. Werburgh. Rendering annually to grantor one half-penny at the Nativity of St. John Baptist and for this grant Walter gives 7 marks. Witnesses, Richard the Clerk³ then

¹ According to Canon Morris these were Mayor and Sheriffs in 1256-7.

² According to Canon Morris these two Sheriffs were for the year 1260-1, in which year Walter of Coventry is said to have been Mayor. If this latter point is correct, it is curious to find him here following the Sheriffs as witness without describing himself as Mayor.

³ The Mayor and Sheriffs here mentioned do not agree with any in Canon Morris' list; possibly the year should be 1260, or even earlier.

Mayor, Robert the Mercer and Stephen Saracen then Sheriffs, Randle of Oxford [*de Oxon'*], Robert Harald, Hugh Tailur, Hugh Kide, Richard de Knaresbure, Hugh Cardi, Alexander Harre, and others.

[Seal gone].

XXIII. Omnibus etc. Lady [*Domina*] Alice de la Haye [c. 1265]. Prioress of the Nuns at Chester and the Convent there grant to Margery Erneys formerly wife of Richard of Rhuddlan [*de Rothelan*] a certain piece of land in the City of Chester which the said Richard gave to grantors in pure and perpetual alms in St. Werburgh's lane in Chester lying between the land of Henry nephew of the s^d Richard and the land of Bartholomew the Goldsmith. Rendering annually four shillings in silver at two terms, Nativity of our Lord and Nativity of St. John Baptist and besides this the said Margery Erneys and her heirs or assigns to find one lamp in the dormitory for the Nuns serving God and St. Mary there. Witnesses, Richard the Clerk then Mayor of Chester, William of Hawarden [*de Haurdin*] and Roger Throsle then Sheriffs,¹ Robert the Prude Mercer,² Matthew of Daresbury, Robert Harald, John Ulkil, John Noble, Adam Godewecc, John Grund, Alexander Harre.

[Large vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; the virgin (crowned) with child, and sceptre in her right hand; legend, + SIGILLUM CONVEN MONIALIUM CESTRIE].³ See No. 2 on Plate of Seals.

XXIV. Omnibus etc. Alan son of Hanr' [? Andrew] [c. 1267]. Whytemay of Chester grants to Ythell the Tailor [*Cissor*] of Chester a certain piece of land in Flesh-mongeres lone, which the said Hanr' grantor's father gave

¹ Again we have a Mayor and Sheriffs not in the list. Apparently Richard Rhuddlan was alive about 1260, *vide* Charter No. XXI.

² See Note 2, Charter XV.

³ This is a very fine example of the second seal of the Nunnery, also, apparently, hitherto unknown. There is no reference to it in the British Museum Catalogue; nor in the Rev. W. H. Massey's Paper on "Seals," in the Chester Archæological Journal, Vol. II., p. 149.

to grantor lying between the land of Richard of Frodsham and the land which the said Ythell bought from H'nr' grantor's brother. Rendering annually $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and to the house of St. James of Birkehened two shillings and 3d. of silver at 2 terms. Consideration for grant 9 marks. Witnesses, Richard the Clerk then Mayor,¹ Oliver of Stocton, then Sheriff, Stephan Saracen, Robert Harald, John Grund, Matthew de Daresburi, Adam Godeweyt, Hugh Cardi, John the Noble, Randle the Clerk, Thomas Lolot, John the Chaplain, and others.

[Circular seal, in green wax ; an eagle to sinister, one wing elevated ; legend, [s'] ALANI . QVITENAI].

XXV. Sciant etc. Yseuda wife of William Pinsun [c. 1267]. grants to Roger son of Roger de Bagenhold² all her land in "Nordgatestrete" in Chester which she bought from Geoffrey son of Robert son of Thurstan son of Lece and from John son of Thurstan son of Lece which lies between the land of John Arneway and John Grund. Rendering annually one halfpenny and to the chief lords 3d. and three-quarters "de londgaubil" and to the Nuns of Chester $\frac{4}{4}$ in silver. Witnesses, Sir Robert de Stokeport,³ Sir William Patric,⁴ Sir William de Wistaneston, Kts., Richard the Clerk, then Mayor, William de Siston', Oliver de Stoctone, Sheriffs,⁵ Stephan Saracen, Robert the Mercer, Robert of Hoole, Robert Harald, Hugh Cardi, John Grund, Thomas Lollote, then Judges of the Portmoot of Chester, Reynold Herneys, Thomas the Clerk of Wybunbury [*Wibbre'bury*].

[Vesica-shaped seal, in green wax ; a fleur de lys ; legend, [s'] YSVEVDE FIL' GOLF IINCELIN [?]].⁶

¹ Again we have a Mayor and Sheriff who do not agree with Canon Morris' list, unless his Oliver Cotton is a mistake for Oliver Stocton ; in which case the document should be dated 1266-7.

² Query for Bagnall.

³ Living as late as 1270. Earwaker's "East Cheshire," Vol. I., p. 343.

⁴ Of the family of the Barons of Malpas. Living in 1278 (*Ormerod*, Vol. II., p. 593).

⁵ Not in Canon Morris' list ; probably about 1267.

⁶ This last word may be for Lancelyn.

XXVI. Omnibus etc. Robert son of Richard Erneys, [c. 1268]. acknowledges that he is bound in 3/- to the Church of St. Peter and the Parishioners of the same church to pay at two terms, viz., 18d. at Michaelmas and 18d. at Annunciation, to find two wax candles¹ [*thorchias cere*] for the said church serving the altar of St. Peter at the lifting up of the body of the Lord for the soul of Richard of Rhuddlan [*de Rothelan*] and for the souls of his ancestors and all the faithful at the provision of honest men of the said Parish, such as the said Richard of Rhuddlan used to find for a certain land in "Estgatestrete" lying between the land of Beatrice daughter of Pagan and the land of John Grund. Rendering annually to the chief lord of the said land for "londgabul" 5d. and to Luce daughter of Philip Skinner [*Pellipar*'] and her heirs ½d. in silver. Witnesses, William of Hawardin Clerk and Oliver of Trafford [*de Trofford*] then Sheriffs,² Robert Mercer, Robert Harald, John Grund, Richard of Stirchelegh [?], Randle of Astbury [*Assebury*] Clerk, H. Cardi, Robt. Brasce, Thomas Loloth, Walter the Chaplain, and others.

[Seal gone].

XXVII. ³Sciant etc. John formerly son of Hugh the Tailor [*Cissor*] of Chester grants to Robert Erneys son of Richard Erneys and his heirs etc. his selda [*celda*] which his father left him which was formerly half of the house of Wymarc formerly the wife of John the Tailor [*le Taylur*], which half house is nearer the land which formerly belonged to Ralph Harding which lies behind the selda of John Grund, and contains in length from the said selda to the house, twenty-seven feet clear [*pedes palpato*s] where the said Wymarc used to live, and if the wall be pulled down at the Fair of St. Michael within the wall then six feet and a half [in addition]. Rendering annually to the heirs of Wymarc ½d.

¹ "We do not realise at once how much of added and imposing ceremonial is involved in the addition, in the 12th and 13th Centuries, of the single act of the *elevation* of the Host and Chalice, with its accompanying *lights and torches*, censings, bell-ringsings, and genuflexions" (*Edmund Bishop*, "Genius of the Roman Rite," p. 10).

² Sheriffs from 1267 to 1269.

³ Compare Charter No. XX.

and to grantor 6 peppercorns. Consideration five marks in silver. Witnesses,⁴ John Arnewey then Mayor, Matthew of Daresbury, William Cosin then Sheriffs, Richard Clerk, Stephan Saracen, Robert Harald, Adam Godewet, John Grund, John Norman, John Cardi, Stephan Tailor [*Cissor*].

[Small circular seal, in green wax; a flower with six petals; legend, [s. IO]HNI[S] FI: HVG: CISSORIS].

XXVIII. Sciant etc. Roger of Mold [*de Montalt*] Seneschal of Chester grants to Simon of Pulford one half of all the lands etc. which William of the Ash [*de Praxinus*], formerly held in the vale of Mold lying between the lands of William of Fewnes and Richard le Breth etc. and he further grants the said Simon nine acres of land etc. lying next to "Adamhisheth" in the said valley [*valle*]. To hold etc. with husbot and heybote etc. in Mold woods etc. Rendering annually 14/- to grantor at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist and the Feast St. Martin saving to grantor right of pannage and multure at grantor's mill in the vale of Mold and suits at grantor's courts twice annually viz. the great Courts at St. Michael and Easter. Suits only to be in English and not in Welsh. Witnesses, Sir Raynold de Grey then Justiciar of Chester and Richard de Mascy Kt., Richard Streche, Wm. le Lewede, Robt. of Huyton, Ralph Corbyn, Richard le Breth, and others.

[Small oval seal, in green wax; a fine classical gem; legend, + S' ROGERI DE MOHAVT].

XXIX. ⁵ Omnibus etc. Robert de Lene son and heir of Hugh de Lene grants to Dore formerly wife of Hugh de Lene all that land which Hugh grantor's father gave to the said Dore for the term of his life, to hold of grantor, rendering annually a pair of white gloves or a halfpenny and to Sir James de Haudeleg⁶ xij^d. Witnesses, John Ernway then Mayor,⁷ Lawrence Vintner [*Vinetarius*],

⁴ Mayor and Sheriffs, according to Canon Morris, from 1270 to 1273.

⁵ Compare Charter No. XIX., under date 1256.

⁶ Sir James Audley, Justiciar, 1265-7.

⁷ Mayor and Sheriffs do not occur in Canon Morris' list; but John Arneway was Mayor and Alexander Hurel one of the Sheriffs in 1274-5.

Alexander Hurel, then Sheriffs, Richard the Clerk, Oliver of Stocton, Randle the Clerk, John Grund, Philip the Clerk, Robert Bras, Andrew Throslebur', Henry of Bucklow [*de Bocelau*], John Mayler, Adam of Shrewsbury [*de Slobusbur'*], Raynold Erneys.

[Vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; a bird statant; S' ROBERTI DE LENE [?]].

XXX. Omnibus etc. Alice daughter of Robert de Burg [c. 1275]. quitclaims to Walter Brian and his heirs all the lands which Robert her father formerly held for a term of 20 years of Robert son of Robert son of Simon, which land lies between the land that was John Blund's and the land that belonged to Robert Tailor [*Talliator*] in "Norgatestrete" in Chester. Witnesses, Richard the Clerk,¹ Mathew of Daresbury and Randle Dobledai then Sheriffs of Chester, Robert of Hoole, Robert son of Thurstan, Adam Godewaic, Robert Harald, Hugh Cardi, Alexander H're, and others.

[Vesica-shaped seal, in green wax: a fleur-de-lys; legend, S' ALICIE DE].

XXXI. Omnibus etc. Warin of Croxton² [*de Crocton*] [c. 1275]. grants to Richard of Toft 10d and 8d in rents from his land in "Northgatestrete" lying between the land of John son of Pagan and the land which belonged to Arthur the Harper [*Cunetharius*] in Chester. Rendering to Patric de Heslewelle and his heirs 12d. at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, Richard the Clerk,³ then Mayor of Chester, Randle Dobeldai and Mathew of Daresbury, Sheriffs, Stephan Saracen, Robert Harald, Hugh Cardi, John Erniway, Guy [*Wido*] son of Hamon, John Hulkell, Adam Godeweit, John Grund, Alexander Herre, and others.

[Round seal, in white wax; a fleur-de-lys; legend, S' W ROXTVN].

¹ Again a Mayor and Sheriffs who do not fit into Canon Morris' list.

² For a full pedigree of this family see *Ormerod*, Vol. III., p. 210.

³ See Mayor and Sheriffs of previous Charter.

See Nos. 12 and 13 in List of Seals (at end of Paper)

No. 14, Page 42, L.

No. 15, Page 33, XXXIII.

B. Newstead. Photo.

XXXII. Sciant etc. William Bunce of Chester grants [1275-6]. to Bertram son of Peter of Marinham ten selions of land lying in the fields of Claverton viz. two half selions in Ulnesdale and one selion lying on le Stonihulle and one selion lying upon le Lowe and one selion beyond le Lowe lying in Brerifurlong which lies next the way that leads towards le Gredediche, one selion lying in the Croft of Claverton and two selions lying in le Cruftinge between the lands of Sir Hugh of Pulford, two half selions lying in le Withines and two half selions lying in Le Leefeld next Okleston field, half a selion lying in Longefurlong, half a selion next Swartingesfeld. Paying annually to St. Mary and the Nuns one penny of Silver and to grantor and his heirs one rose. Witnesses, Sir Guncelin de Badelesmere¹ then Justiciar of Chester, John Arneway then Mayor, Philip the Clerk and Randle of Daresbury Sheriffs,² Hugh of Meols [*Moles*], Robert of Tarvin, Robert Eyse, William Sebrem, Thomas Hose, Geoffrey the Clerk.

[Round seal, in green wax; an eagle displayed; S' WILL . . . L . WI . .].

XXXIII. Omnibus etc. William Cutler [*Cultellarius*] of [c. 1276]. Chester and Matilda his wife grants to Roger of Tottenham citizen of Chester all their land in "Northgatestrete" lying between the land which the said Roger held of Walter Brien and the land which Alan of Trafford [*de Trocford*] formerly held with all that plot of land lying behind the land which the said Alan of Trafford formerly held. Rendering id. in silver and to the Lord 2½d. at Ascension. Witnesses, Sir Guncelin de Badelesmere then Justiciar of Chester, John Arnway then Mayor, and Hugh of Meols [*de Meles*] then Sheriff, Richard the Clerk, Alexander Hurel, Robert Candelan, Randle of Daresbury, Robert Haraud, Henry the Clerk.

[Two seals: One round seal, in green wax; an estoile of eight points; legend, S' WILLI: CVLTELARI: (see No. 15

¹ Justiciar of Chester, 1274 to 1281.

² According to Canon Morris' list this Mayor and these Sheriffs held office in the year 1275-6.

on Plate of Seals); (2) a vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; a fleur-de-lys; legend, + S' MATILDIS VX WILLI CVLTELARH]. See No. 7 on Plate of Seals.

XXXIV. Omnibus etc. Matilda wife of William Cutler [c. 1276]. [*Cultellarius*] of Chester quitclaims to Roger of Tottenham citizen of Chester all her dower in land in "Norgatestrete" lying between the land which the said Roger held of Walter Brien and the land which was Alan of Trafford's [*de Trocford*] with the plot of land at the back of the said land. Witnesses, John Arneway then Mayor, Hugh of Meols then Sheriff, Richard Clerk, Alexander Hurel, Robert Candelan, Randle de Daresbury, Henry Clerk, and others.

[Seal gone].

[Endorsed Quitclaim from Matilda wife of William Cuce'llor etc.]

XXXV. Hec est etc. An agreement between William [1276-7]. Martin of Chester and Emma his wife on the one part and William Pinsun citizen of Chester on the other part. Parties of the first part grant to s^d William a certain piece of land in "Norgatestrete" lying between the land which was Richard Saracen's and the land of the said William Martin and Emma his wife, 18 feet in width, for a term of eight years beginning at the Feast of St. Gregory [March 12] in the year 1276 for 40/- in silver. Rendering annually to grantors one halfpenny at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, John Arneway then Mayor, Richard Apothecary and Robert Mercer¹ Sheriffs, Richard Clerk, Alexander Hurel, Robert Harald, Henry Clerk.

[Vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; . . . legend, S' WILLMS . . . BELGI [?]].

¹ This does not agree with Canon Morris' list, who, for this year, puts Adam Gothewyte instead of Robert Mercer as one of the Sheriffs. Possibly Adam Gothewyte died in his year of office.

XXXVI. Omnibus etc. Alice de la Haye-Prioress of the
 [1277-8]. Nuns of Chester and the Convent confirm the
 grant which Orme of Bruera[?] [*Orem de Bruerio*]
 and Hawysia his wife made to Alice their daughter and her
 heirs of a certain piece of land lying between the land which
 belonged to John Ulkil and the land which belonged to Alan
 Tanner [*Tannator*] in the lane of the greater Church of
 St. John [*in viculo maioris ecclesiae Sti. J.*] of Chester. Ren-
 dering annually three shillings in silver, in two equal portions.
 Witnesses, Randle of Daresbury then Mayor, Hugh of Meols,
 Robert of Tarvin then Sheriffs, Richard the Clerk, John Arne-
 wey, John Ulkil, Richard Pain, Hugh Candelan, Geoffrey the
 Clerk, and others.

[Large vesica-shaped seal, in green wax (much
 damaged); Virgin and Child; SIG
 NIAL].

XXXVII. Sciant etc. Robert le Bolour of Chester grants
 [c. 1280]. to Robert son of Richard Erneys twenty pence
 annual rent which the grantor receives from
 William Pinson and his heirs at the Feast of the Purification
 as rent from a certain garden in Holy Trinity Lane [*venel*]
 lying between the land which formerly belonged to Randle
 Dobildey and the land which formerly belonged to Richard
 Harald. Witnesses, Alexander Hurel¹ then Mayor, Robert of
 Tarvin and Hugh of Meols then Sheriffs, Richard Harald,
 Robert Harald, Alexander the Turner, Robert of Hokenhul,
 William le Sysors, Hamon the Clerk, and others.

[Seal gone].

XXXVIII. Hec est etc. Agreement between Gilbert son
 [1280]. of William son of Kenewrevck of Newton and
 Robert son of Richard Erneys by which the said
 Gilbert demises to the said Robert and his heirs and assigns
 twelve lands in the fields of Newton of which three lands are
 called the Stiwey londis lying between the land of Robert son
 of Cicely and the land which formerly belonged to Thomas

¹ These names do not agree with any on the list.

son of Hugh. Two lands which are called the Schouelebrad londis lying between the land which formerly belonged to Thomas son of Hugh and the land which belonged to Elias the Hunter [*Venator*].¹ Two lands which are called the Putlondis lying between land which formerly belonged to Hugh le Coudrey and the land of Hugh son of Walter. And one selion called Longge land lying on the road which is called the Bradewey and reaching from the headland of Hugh son of Hugh of Newton in length to the headland of the said Gilbert and another land called Brocstan lond lying between the land of Thomas son of Ralph and the land of Philip son of William, and two lands which are called the Cley londis and extend in length from the land which formerly belonged to Richard son of Andrew of Upton to the land of the Abbot of Chester, and one land called the Cley londis lying between the land which formerly belonged to Richard son of Andrew and the land of the said Gilbert. To hold to the said Robert for a term of forty years beginning at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, 1280. Rendering annually one penny of silver at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. For this grant the said Robert gave 13 marks in silver. Witnesses, Sir Gunzelin de Badelesmere, then Justiciar of Chester, Patric de Heselewelle, Roger de Dumville, Knights, John Torald, Eliot le Hunte, John of Cloudesdale, Deyne of the Cellar [*de la Celer*], Roger of Coghull [*de Cochul*], Robert son of Cicely, Raynold [*Reginaldus*] of Leen, Hamon the Clerk, and others.

[Small round seal, in green wax, broken in half; a star of four points; legend, S' GILBERTI DE . . .].

XXXIX. Sciant etc. John le Sutherne of Chester grants [1280-1]. to Raynald of Chester son of Hugh of Ley all his land lying between the land which belonged to Elias of [*Helyas de*] Mundre which the same Elias took [*cepit*] from the House of Aberconway and the land which belonged to John le Hoper in "Flesmongere Lone" in Chester, viz.: all that land which grantor had [*habere merui*] from Beatrice formerly the wife of Andrew Throsleberd of Chester

¹ See *Ormerod*, Vol. II., p. 385 (pedigree).

to hold from the grantor. Rendering annually to the Abbey of St. Werburgh six shillings in silver at two terms, viz.: the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and Christmas, and to grantor one rose at the Nativity of St. John for all services. This grant is confirmed in full Portmoot at Chester. Witnesses, Robert Mercer then Mayor of Chester, Hugh of Meols and Robert Erneys then Sheriffs, Alexander Hurel, Randle of Daresbury, Richard Harald, Robert Harald, Robert of Tarvin, Geoffrey the Clerk, and many others.

XL. Sciant etc. Clemence and Alice daughters and
[1281-2]. heirs of John Woodrow [*Woderoue*] quitclaim to Richard dil Panyers and Felicia his wife all their right etc. in one messuage lying between the land of William Beimond on the one part and the land of Alice Balle [?] on the other part in Watergatestret in Chester which said messuage fell to the said Richard and Felice by the death of Walter de Burg formerly brother of said Felice. Witnesses, Robert Mercer then Mayor of Chester, Robert Erneys and Alexander son of Alexander Hurell then Sheriffs, Randle of Daresbury, Hugh of Birchall [*Brichulle*], Robert of Tarvin, William of Doncaster, Nicholas Payn, Jordan de Bradford.¹

[One vesica-shaped seal, in greenish wax; an eight-pointed star; legend, ; other tab missing].

XLI. Sciant etc. William son and heir of Roger
[c. 1282]. the Barber [*le Barbur*] grants to Robert Erneys citizen of Chester all his land lying in length and in width between the land which belonged to Richard Saracen and the land of John Arneway in Northgate Street in the City of Chester. Rendering annually to the King 7½d. at the Feast of Pentecost for "Landgabul," to the Nuns of Chester 4/4 at two terms, viz. the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 2/2 and at Christmas 2/2, and to grantor one halfpenny at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the

¹ At one time Constable of Flint Castle. See Mr. Henry Taylor's Paper on "Some Early Chester and Flint Deeds," this Society's Journal, Vol. II. (New Series), p. 163.

Baptist. Witnesses, Robert the Mercer then Mayor, Alexander Hurel junior then Sheriff, Randle of Daresbury, Robert of Tarvin, Hugh of Birchall, Robert Candelan, David Miller, Roger of Tudynham, Richard Candelan, Roger the Clerk, and others.

[Small round seal, in green wax ; six-pointed floriated star ; legend, + S' WILL: FIL: ROGR' LE BARBOU'].

XLII. Sciant etc. Mariot daughter of John Blond [c. 1282]. grants to Robert son of Richard Erneys all her land in St. Werburgh's lane [*venello*] in Chester lying between the land which belonged formerly to Richard of Rhuddlan [*de Rothelan*] and the cemetery of St. Werburgh. Rendering annually one halfpenny in silver at the Feast of St. Martin in winter. Witnesses, Sir Gunzelin de Badelesmer then Justiciar of Chester,¹ Alexander Hurel then Mayor of Chester, Robert of Hoole then Sheriff, Randle of Daresbury, John Grund, Alexander the Turner, Hugh of Meols, Stephan the Tailor, Richard Harald, Thomas the Tailor [*le Taylour*], Hamo the Clerk, and others.

[Small vesica-shaped seal, in green wax ; a fleur-de-lys ; legend, S' MARIE FILE IOHIS B'OL[?]D +].

XLIII. Sciant etc. John Hunter [*Venator*] citizen of [1282-3]. Chester and Alice his wife daughter of John Norman, grant to Robert son of Richard Erneys of Chester all their lands in "Nordgatestrete" in the City of Chester lying between the land which belonged to the Abbot of Chester and the land of the said Robert Erneys. Rendering annually to grantor ½d. and to the Treasury of the Earl of Chester 6d. Consideration 4 marks. Witnesses, Alexander Hurel then Mayor, Robert of Hoole [*Hole*] Sheriff, Robert the Mercer, Richard Harald, Robert Harald, Alexander the Turner [*le Tornour*], Stephan Tailor [*Cissor*], Thomas his brother,

¹ According to Ormerod's "Domesday Roll," p. 24, this Justiciar was succeeded in 9 Edward I. (1280-1), by Raynald de Grey, and a reference to the Patent Roll confirms this; Canon Morris, however, puts Alexander Hurel as Mayor and Robert of Hoole as Sheriff in 1282-3.

Mathew Goldsmith [*Aurifaber*], William of Doncaster, Roger of Tudinham, Richard de Tudinham, Hamo the Clerk, and others.

[Two seals: the dexter one, a small round seal, in green wax; an animal or bird [? a ferret] passant sinister regardant; legend, + S' IOHANIS LE HVNTE; the other, a small vesica-shaped seal in green wax; a conventional ornament [? a star]; legend, + S' ALICIE: DE: LEAVLA].

XLIV. Sciant etc. John Ulkel citizen of Chester [1282-3]. grants to Richard of Kegworthe a certain curtilage in the lane of the grange of the Abbot and Convent of St. Werburgh lying between the land which belonged to Richard of Todenham and that of Adam Page. Rendering annually 40d. in silver at two terms. Witnesses, Alexander Hurel then Mayor of Chester, Robert of Hoole then Sheriff, Randle of Daresbury, Robert Mercer, Richard of Todenham, Roger of the same, Geoffrey the Clerk, and others.

[Seal gone].

XLV. Sciant etc.¹ Robert of Tarvin citizen of Chester [1282-3]. and Felicia his wife with united goodwill [*pari voluntate*] grant to Nicholas of Brackeleye tanner [*tannatori*] a piece of land without the walls of Chester in St. Johns Lane in the said City opposite the gate of Wolfeld lying between the land which belonged to Patrick of Burton and the land of the grantors. Rendering annually seven shillings of silver at the usual 4 terms equally. Witnesses, Alexander Hurel then Mayor of Chester, Robert of Hoole then Sheriff, Robert Mercer, Robert Harald, John Grund, Robert son of William the Waterman [*Aquar'*], Geoffrey the Clerk, and others.

[Two seals, in green wax: dexter side, a quatrefoil ornament, with the legend, S' ROBERTI DE TERWYN +; on the sinister, a vesica-shaped seal, with a fleur-de-lys and legend, S' FELIC' VX' ROB' DE T'WYN +].

¹ See also Charter No. XLVII., under date 1286-7.

XLVI. Hec est etc. Agreement between Richard of [1286]. Knaresburgh and Agnes his wife daughter of John Byran and Margery sister of said Agnes of the first part, and Richard de Prez citizen of Chester on the other part. Parties of the first part grant to Richard Prez all their land in St. Bridget's Lane in the City of Chester lying between the land which belonged to Robert Nobil and the land which belonged to Agnes Arnewey, which land extends in length from the said lane to Copineslone¹ for the term of 12 years beginning at Easter *anno domini* 1286 for 40/- of silver. Rendering annually to the Chief Lord at Ascension 5½d. as Londgabul for all services etc. Witnesses, Hugh of Meols² then Mayor, Robert Erneys and Hugh of Birchall Sheriffs, Alexander Hurel, Randle of Daresbury, Richard Harald, Robert his brother, Robert of Tarvin, Geoffrey the Clerk, and others.

[Three small vesica-shaped seals, in white wax; that on the dexter side illegible; middle one, a fleur-de-lys; on sinister side, an estoile; legend, S' MARGE BYRAM].

XLVII. Sciant etc.³ Robert of Tarvin citizen of Chester [1286-7]. grants to Nicholas of Brackeleye tanner, all his land lying between the land which the said Nicholas took to farm from grantor and his wife Felicia, and the land of the grantor in St. John's Lane [*in viculo majoris ecclesie Sancti Johannis*] without the Walls opposite the gate of Wolfeld, which land contains in width 33 feet and in length 100 feet and extends in length to the land which belonged to Sir Thomas de Donniton Canon of the said Church of St. John. Rendering annually 6/4 in silver at four terms. Witnesses, Hugh of Meols then Mayor of Chester, Robert Erneys and Hugh of Birchall then Sheriffs, Alexander Hurel, Randle of Daresbury, Robert Mercer, William of Doncaster,

¹ An early occurrence of this name.

² This Charter confirms the names of Mayor and Sheriffs in Canon Morris' list.

³ See also Charter No. XLV., under date 1282-3.

Richard of Todenham, Roger of the same, Geoffrey the Clerk, and others.

[Seal, a head with beard and flowing hair [?]; legend, S' ROB: F: GALF: DE: TERVEN: +].

XLVIII. Sciant etc. Thomas Hose and Elen his wife [1286-7]. of Chester by their joint wish grant to William Mulet of Chester fisherman, three selions of land of which two selions lie in the field [*campo*] of Claverton viz. one selion on Farenhul between the land of the Nuns of Chester and the selion of William Bunce, and another selion in Ulnesdale between the selion of Mabil Hascard and the land of the Nuns, and the third selion lies next le Fordesway on the southern part in the said field of Claverton. Rendering annually a grain of pepper at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Consideration 38/- in silver. Witnesses, Hugh of Meols then Mayor of Chester, Robert Erneys and Hugh of Birchall then Sheriffs, Philip the Clerk, Richard "Machinator," Robert of the Mill, William Bunce, Robert Eyse, Warin del Hul, John Hose, Geoffrey the Clerk, and others.

[Two seals, in white wax, one round and the other vesica-shaped; the latter a quatrefoil star.

XLIX. Sciant etc.¹ Stephan called [*dictus*] Sarazen [1287-8]. citizen of Chester grants to Richard of Tarvin a certain plot of land lying between the land on which grantor lives [*inter terram in quam mansi*] and the land which William Swan held of grantor in Goselone in the City of Chester which plot contains in breadth towards the frontage [*in latitudine versus frontem*] 38 feet and towards the back [*versus finem*] in width between a plot of land of the said Stephan's called The Herbyard [*Le Erbereyert*] and the land which belonged to William called Swan 47 feet and containing in length from the front to the land which belonged to Alice Dyonis[?] 55 feet. Rendering annually 3/8 in silver at four terms. Witnesses, Robert of Tarvin then Mayor, Robert

¹ Compare with Charter No. VI.

Erneys and Nicholas Payn then Sheriffs, Hugh de Brichulle, Roger Donfoul, Adam Miller [*Molind'*], Alan of Tarvin, and others.

[Seal gone].

L. Sciant etc.¹ Alina de Toft in liege pousty and
[c. 1288]. pure widowhood grants to John son of Hugh Peck
formerly citizen of Chester all her land with a
certain stone cellar lying between the land of Richard son
of grantor and the land of grantee in "Northgatestrete."
Rendering annually to the Abbot and Convent of St. Wer-
burgh four shillings in silver at the Feast of Peter and Paul.
Witnesses, Hugh of Meols² then Mayor, Robert Erneys and
Hugh Payn Sheriffs, Alexander Hurel, Randle of Daresbury,
Robert of Tarvin, Philip the Clerk, Richard of Tudynham,
Roger of the same, Richard Harald, Thomas son of Roger the
Tailor [*Cissor*], Robert the Chamberlain, Roger Clerk, and
others.

[Vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; an eagle with one
wing extended; legend, S' DNE ALINE DE THO . . .].
See No. 14 on Plate of Seals.

L.I. Omnibus etc.³ Richard son and heir of Richard
[c. 1288]. de Toft formerly of Chester quitclaims to John
son of Hugh Peck formerly citizen of Chester all
his right etc. in a certain stone cellar [*celario lapideo*] between
the land of grantor and the land of the said John, which Alina
mother of grantor gave to the said John. Witnesses, Hugh of
Meols then Mayor of Chester, Robert Erneys and Hugh Payn
Sheriffs, Richard of Tudynham, Roger of the same, Robert
Chamberlain, Roger the Clerk, and others.

[Small round seal, in green wax; an animal [? lion]
passant in a sinister direction in front of a tree or
flower; legend, + S' RIC' FILI' RIC: DE: TOFT].

¹ See next Charter.

² These do not agree with Canon Morris' list.

³ See preceding Charter.

LII. Sciant etc. Agreement made between Thomas
 [1290]. of Dunham and Felicia his wife of the one part
 and Mabel Harald daughter of Nicholas Harald
 of Chester of the other part by which the parties of the first
 part grant to the said Mabel a certain place of a certain shop
 [*quamdam placiam cujusdem scoppe*] next to the land which
 belonged to Alan of Trafford [*de Trouford*] in "Northgate-
 strete" for the term of 16 years beginning at Easter *Anno*
Domini 1290. Rendering annually to grantors one halfpenny
 at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses,
 Robert of Tarvin then Mayor, Robert Erneys and Nicholas
 Pain then Sheriffs, Roger Dunful, Roger of Tudenham, David
 Miller [*Molendinus*], Geoffrey Clerk.

[Two vesica-shaped seals, in green wax; the dexter
 one, an eight-point estoile; legend, S' THOMS DE DONA
 . . . ; the sinister, a head of corn in the ear; legend,
 2' FELIZA HARALD].

LIII. Sciant etc. William son of Gilbert of Newton
 [c. 1290]. grants to Robert Erneys of Chester 15 selions of
 land in the fields [*campis*] of Newton juxta Chester
 viz. 3 seliones called le Cleylondes, 3 selions called le Stywey-
 londis, 2 selions called le Shovelebradeslondes, and 1 called
 le Longheuetlond, and half a selion called le Cleyhalf lond, and
 1 selion called le Brocstanlond, and 1 called le Justingheuet-
 lond, and 1 called le Cleyheuetlond, and a half land [*landam*]
 lying between, next to the same Cleylond, and 2 selions called
 le Putlondes. Rendering annually to grantor $\frac{1}{4}$ d. at the Feast
 of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, Sir Patric de
 Heselewalle, Richard de Masci, Knights, Ralph of Puddington,
 John of Rudon, William of Leighton [*Letchton*], Richard
 de Coudrey, Robert son of Cecily, Hugh of Birchall of
 Chester, Richard of Bucklow [*de Bochelau*], Hamo the Clerk,
 and others.

[Small slightly oval seal, in green wax; a four-pointed
 star; legend, + S' WILL: FIL: GILBERTI].

LIV. Sciant etc. William son of Gilbert of Newton [c. 1290]. grants to Robert Erneys of Chester 3 selions in the fields [*campis*] of Newton juxta Chester, viz. those that lie between the lands which belonged to Robert son of Cecily, and the land of Thomas son of Hugh. Rendering annually to grantor a peppercorn at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, Sir Patric de Heselewelle, Sir Richard de Masci Knights, Alexander de Baumville, James de Pulle, Ralph of Puddington, Richarde de Condrey, Robert son of Cecily, John of Rudon, Hamo the Clerk, and others.

[Seal slightly oval-shaped, in green wax; a four-pointed star; legend, + : S' WILLI: FIE: GILBERTI:].

LV. Sciant etc. William son and heir of Gilbert [c. 1290]. of Newton grants to Robert Erneys citizen of Chester 21 selions and a half in the fields [*campis*] of Newton-juxta-Chester viz. 3 selions called le Cleylondes, 3 selions called le Styweylondes, 2 selions called le Schouelebradlondes, 1 selion called le Longheuetlond, $\frac{1}{2}$ selion called le Cleyhalflond, 1 selion called le Brocstanlond, 1 selion called le Joustyngheuedlond, 1 selion called le Cleyheuetlond, $\frac{1}{2}$ land lying next the said Cleyheuetlond, 2 selions called le Putlondes, 2 selions called le Bradelakelondis, 3 half selions in Fregrene [or Fregreue],¹ 1 selion called le Styweylond, 1 selion called Edmundislond, 1 selion called le Schoterdicheheuetlond, and all that land [*terram*] called le Bruches lying between the land of Richard son of Andrew of Newton and the land of Thomas son of Hugh of the same. To have and to hold the said 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ selions and the said land called le Bruches. Rendering annually 1d. Witnesses, Sir Patric de Heselewalle, Sir Richard de Masci, Knights, Ralph of Puddington, John of Ruton, William of Leighton, Sir William de Newton Chaplain, Robert his brother, Richard le Coudrey, Elyas le Honte, Hugh of Birchall, David Miller, Roger of Tudenham, Roger the Clerk, and others.

[Seal same as preceding Deed].

¹ Query Frogreue; see Charter No. LVII.

LVI. This is the agreement made between Mabel [1290-1]. White [*Mabilla dictus le White*] formerly wife of John le White of Chester and Margery formerly wife of Raynold le Yrenmonger of the same, to wit, that the said Mabel in liege poustey and pure widowhood quitclaims to Margery all that annual rent due from said Margery for land which the said Raynold and Margery his wife held in "Northgatestrete" viz. for the term of 10 years beginning at Easter 1285. For this Margery pays Mabel 5 marks. Witnesses, Robert Mercer then Mayor, Hugh of Meols and Robert Erneys then Sheriffs, Alexander Hurel, William of Doncaster, Richard of Todenham, Roger of the same, and Geoffrey the Clerk.

[Seal gone].

LVII. ¹Agreement between Richard de Coudray and [1291]. Robert Erneys by which Richard demises six selions of land in the fields [*campis*] of Newton juxta Chester to Robert, one of which is called le Merstallond which lies between the land which belonged to William son of Philip and the land of Hugh son of Hugh, another is called le Sondwallond lying between the land which belonged to Elias Hunter [*Venator*] and the land of Richard son of Andrew, and five butts [*buttas*] in the field [*campo*] called le Puttis which extend in length from le Puttislondis of the said Robert to le Grenewegh, and one selion in Frogreue lying between the land of William son of Gilbert and the land of Elias Hunter [*Venator*] and one selion which lies in le Wetforlongd between the land of Raynold Ruffi and the land which belonged to certain Wiot and two butts called le Wallebuttis lying between the land which belonged to Elias Hunter [*Venator*] and the land of Hugh son of Hugh. For the term of thirty years next following the Feast of St. Michael Archangel 1291. Rendering annually one half-penny of silver of the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Consideration 40/-. Witnesses, Sir Patric de Hesele-

¹ This Deed is interesting as throwing light on the meaning of the terms selion and butt. It seems clear from it that the equation is 4 butts equals 1 selion; though actually it works out 4 selions and 7 butts equals 6 selions; evidently a butt has dropped out somewhere.

walle, Richard de Masci, Knights, Roger of Coghull [*de Cochul*], Ralph of Puddington, John of Rudon, Robert of Newton, William of Newton, Hamo the Clerk, with others.

[Small round seal, in green wax; four-armed star; legend, + S' RIC': FIL: HVGH [?]].

LVIII. Sciant etc. Roger of Tudynham citizen of [c. 1292]. Chester grants to Aneline his daughter all his land in Northgate Street lying in length between the land which belonged to Hugh Bryd and the land of Richard de Toft and which extends in length from the land of John de Beauchamp to the highway of Northgate Street, together with a certain plot of land adjoining the said land which lies behind the cellar [*celarium*] which belonged to John Pecke which the said John bought from Richard son of Richard de Toft, which said plot of land contains in length from the first-mentioned piece of land to the land of John Pecke 31 feet, and in width between the cellar aforesaid and the land which belonged to John de Beauchamp 25 feet. Rendering annually to the Abbot and Convent of St. Werburgh 2/- of silver at two terms, viz. the Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul 12d. and the Feast of St. Martin 12d., and to Henry the Cutler [*le Cutiler*] one halfpenny at the Feast of St. Martin. This grant is confirmed in full Portmoot. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor of Chester, Robert Erneys and Nicholas Payn then Sheriffs, Alexander Hurel, Randle of Daresbury. Robert of Tarvin, William of Doncaster, David Miller, Roger the Clerk, and others.

[Seal gone].

[Endorsed, "Concerning the house opposite [*versus*] the Abbeygate"].

LIX. Omnibus etc. Richard called [*dictus*] Coudray [1292]. demises to Joan relict of Robert Erneys a certain meadow in the fields [*in campis*] of Newton juxta Chester lying between the land [*landam*] which is called le Sondwallelond and the sike [*sichetum*] which is called Flokerisbrook for a term of thirty years next ensuing after the

Feast of St. Michael 1292. Rendering annually to grantor one rose. Consideration three shillings in silver. Witnesses, Robert the Mercer¹ then Mayor of Chester, Alexander Hurel and Robert brother of Idhel then Sheriffs, John of Rudon, John of Capenhurst, Ralph of Puddington [*Podinton*], Hugh of Barnston [*Berniston*], Alexander de Bamville, Hamo the Clerk, and others.

[Small round seal, in green wax; quatrefoil ornament; legend illegible].

LX. Agreement between Awisia formerly wife of [1292]. Gilbert of Newton and William son of the said Gilbert of Newton by which the said Awisia demises to the said William twenty seliones of land in Newton fields [*campis*] which were grantors dower from said Gilbert grantees father for a term of ten years next following the Feast of St. Michael the Greater 1292. Rendering annually a rose at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Consideration eight marks. Witnesses, Sir Raynold de Gray then Justiciar of Chester, Richard le Masci, Patric de Heselwelle, Knights, William of Newton, Robert of Newton, William of Capenhurst, Elias Hunter [*Venatore*], and many others.

[Small round seal, in green wax; a star of eight points; legend, S' AVIS VX GILB . . +].

LXI. ²Sciant etc. Margery daughter of Richard de [c. 1292]. Collam grants to Richard son of Roger of Wateley the third part of all her lands which lie between the land of Hugh of Birchall and Mary his wife and the land of Peter of Saughall [*de Salwchalle*] in the venel called Alexendreslone harre³ in Chester. Rendering annually one rose at the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Witnesses, Robert Mercer [*Mercenario*] then Mayor, Alexander Hurel junr. and Robert brother of Yethelle Sheriffs, Randle of Daresbury,

¹ Again these agree with no names on Canon Morris' list; in fact, they show that the names he supplies must be in error, as this Charter is dated.

² Compare this Charter with one printed by Mr. Henry Taylor in this Journal, Vol. II. (New Series), p. 160.

³ See *ibid*, p. 154.

Hugh of Birchall, William of Doncaster, Stephen [?] Boen, John of Shropshire [*de Salopia*].

[Vesica-shaped seal, in white wax; four leaves, arranged crosswise, with alternate twigs intervening between the leaves; legend, S' MARGERIE RICHD LLAM [?]].

LXII. Notum sit etc. Alice daughter and heir of
[1292]. Mabel le Wyte of Chester grants to Robert son of Richard Erneys all her right to 10/- of rent issuing from her land in "Nordgatestrete" in the City of Chester lying between the land which belonged to a certain Roger of Tudinham and the land which belonged to Richard of Tudinham. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor of Chester, Nicholas Payn then Sheriff, Richard Harald, Robert Harald, John the Turner, Stephan the Tailor [*le Taylour*], Roger of Tudinham, Nicholas Goldsmith [*Aurifabro*], Hamo the Clerk, and others.

LXIII. ¹Omnibus etc. Alice daughter of John White
[1292]. [*Albi*] citizen of Chester quitclaims to Robert son of Richard Erneys all her right etc. in her land in Chester lying in width between the Cemetery of St. Werburgh and land of Simon le Verrour and in length from St. Werburgh's Lane and the land of Raynold de Leen which said Robert had by gift from Mariote sister of grantor. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor, Nicholas Payn then Sheriff, Richard Harald, Robert Harald, Stephan Tailor [*Cissore*], Robert le Chamberlayn, Aluered of Stanlawe, Nicholas Goldsmith [*Aurifabro*], Walter Goldsmith, John Meyler, Geoffrey Pigas, Hamo the Clerk, etc.

[Small vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; quatrefoil; legend, + S' ALICIE LE WYTE].

LXIV. Omnibus etc. Ralph son and heir of John son
[1292]. of John Norman quitclaims to Richard son of Robert Erneys all his land lying between the land which belonged to the Abbot and Convent of St. Werburgh

¹ See Mr. Henry Taylor's Paper, Vol. II., p. 159.

of Chester and the land of Randle of Daresbury in "Nort-gatestrete" in Chester, and his lands lying between the land of the said Randle in the same street and the land of the Prior and Hospital of St. John without the Northgate and all lands which Robert Erneys father of grantee had of grantor or his ancestors in Chester. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor, Nicholas Payn and Roger Dunfoul Sheriffs, William of Doncaster, Richard Harald, Robert Harald, Stephan Tailor [*Cissore*], Roger of Tudinham, Nicholas Goldsmith [*Aurifabro*], Robert le Chamberlain, John Meyller, Hamo the Clerk, and others.

[Small round seal, in green wax; a fleur-de-lys; legend, + S' RADVLPHI NORMON].

LXV. Omnibus etc.¹ Geoffrey de Dutton Lord of [c. 1292]. Cheadle [*Dominus de Chelle*] quitclaims to Richard son of Robert Erneys and his heirs and assigns all his right in the land and tenements which Robert father of the said Richard had by gift from William son of Gilbert of Newton in the Vill of Newton juxta Chester. Witnesses, Sir Raynold de Grey then Justiciar, Patric de Heselewalle, Richard de Mascie, Knights, Ralph of Puddington, William Torald, Hugh of Barnston, John of Rudon, William of Christleton, Hamon the Clerk, and others.

[Small vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; a heater-shaped shield; charges illegible; legend, S' GALFRIDI DE DUTTONE].

LXVI. Omnibus etc. Geoffrey de Duttone Lord of [c. 1292]. Cheadle [*Dominus de Chelle*] quitclaims to Richard son of Robert Erneys and his heirs and assigns all his right in the land and tenements which Robert father of the said Richard had by gift from William son of Gilbert of Newton in the Vill of Newton juxta Chester. Witnesses, Raynold de Grey then Justiciar of Chester, Richard de Masci, Patric de Heselewalle, Knights, William of Trafford [*de*

¹ The date of this is almost certainly about 1292, in which year Robert Erneys probably died. This is confirmed by Sir Raynold de Grey's presence.

Trocford], John of Rudon, Hugh of Barnston, Simon of Provence [?], Hamon the Clerk.

[Small vesica-shaped seal, in green wax; on a heater-shaped shield; quarterly, a bend; legend, S' GALFRIDI DE DUTTONE].

LXVII. Sciant etc. John son and heir of John Urkel of Chester grants to Richard son of Roger of Weteley 9/- of rent issuing from land lying between the bottom end [*ultimum finem*] of the venel called Personeslone and the land which Richard Godweyth received in free marriage with Felicia his wife. Four usual terms of payment. Rendering annually to the Prior and Hospital of St. John of Chester 2/- and one rose to grantor. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall Mayor, Nicholas Payn and Roger Dunful Sheriffs, William de Doncaster, Jordan of Bradford, Alexander Hurel junior, and others.

[Seal gone].

LXVIII. Sciant etc.¹ Agnes Bunse and Alice Bunse her sister in liege poustey and their pure widowhood grant to Alice who was formerly the wife of Robert Bras of Chester all their land which lies between the land which belonged to William of Middille and the land which belonged to Richard le Nobille in le Personis-lone, namely that land which descended to grantors by succession from Richard Bunse their uncle. Rendering annually to Philip dil Childrehous and his heirs or assigns threepence in silver at the Feast of St. John the Baptist, and to grantors and their assigns one penny in silver at the same Feast. Witnesses, Sir Raynald de Grey then Justiciar of Chester, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor,² Hugh Payn and Randle of Stanlow then Sheriffs, Alexander Hurell, Randle of Daresbury, Robert of Tarvin, William of Doncaster.

[Two vesica-shaped seals, in white wax; a star; legend, on the dexter one, S' AGNES BUNSE; on the sinister one, S' ALICIAE BUNCE].

¹ See following Charter.

² These do not agree with any names in Canon Morris' list.

LXIX. Sciant etc.¹ Alice formerly wife of Robert Bras
 [1292-3]. of Chester in liege poustey and pure widowhood
 grants to Randle Peck of Chester all her land
 lying between the land which was William of Midle's and
 the land which was Richard le Noble's in le Personelone in
 Chester viz. the land which she had by gift from Agnes
 Bunce and Alice Bunce her sister. Rent payable to Philip de
 Childerhous and his heirs 3d. in silver and to Agnes and Alice
 Bunce 1d. and to grantor 3/-. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall
 then Mayor, Nicholas Payn and Roger Dunfowyl then Sheriffs,
 Robert Mercer, Robert of Tarvin, Roger of Tudenham, David
 the Miller, John Maneware, Richard the Clerk, and others.

[Vesica-shaped seal; a flowing scrolled ornament;
 legend, s': ALICIE: FILIE: JOH: FIL: HVLHEL²].

LXX. Sciant etc. Roger Dunfoul of Chester grants to
 [1294-5]. Henry of Soudon [or Sondon] carpenter a piece of
 land lying between the land of Hugh of Birchall
 citizen of Chester and the land of Raynold of Leene citizen of
 the same in Fleshmongers Lane in the City of Chester and
 reaching from the highway of Fleshmongers Lane to the
 Wall of the City of Chester. Rendering annually 6/- at the
 four usual terms. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor,
 Alexander Hurel and Robert Ythel then Sheriffs, William
 Godebrother, Raynold Leen, William of Doncaster, Richard
 the Clerk, and others.

[Seal gone].

LXXI. Sciant etc. Henry de Soudon [or Sondon]
 [1294-5]. carpenter [*carpentarius*] grants to Raynold [*Reg-*
inaldus] de Lene citizen of Chester a certain piece
 of land lying between the land of Hugh of Birchall citizen of
 Chester and the land of the said Raynold in Fleshmongers
 Lone, and extending from the highway of Fleshmongers
 Lone to the Wall of the City of Chester. Rendering annually

¹ See preceding Charter.

² There is also the counterpart, with a small round seal, in green wax;
 a fleur-de-lys; and the legend, s' RONULFI PECK.

to Roger Dunfoul 6/- in silver at the usual four terms. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor, Alexander Hurel and Robert Ythel then Sheriffs, Randle of Daresbury, Robert of Tarvin, William of Doncaster, David Miller [*Molend'*], Roger the Clerk, and others.

[Seal gone].

LXXII. Universis etc. Hugh of Hoole son of Roger of Hoole grants to Henry of Appilby citizen of Chester, all his land lying between the land which belonged to Gilbert of Newton and the land of Richard of Blacon [*Blakene*] without the Northgate. Rendering annually 3/- in silver. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall Mayor, Alexander Hurel and Robert Ychel Sheriffs, Robert de Tarvin, David called Miller [*Dictus Molendinarius*], Robert of Maclisfeld, Richard Miller [*Molendinar'*].

[Seal gone].

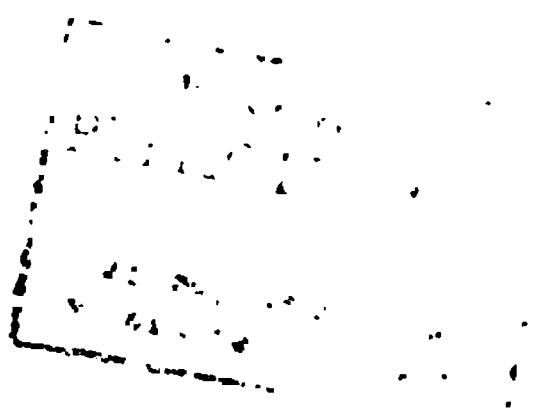
LXXIII. Sciant etc. Richard son and heir of Richard de Toft formerly citizen of Chester grants to Agnes Peck of Chester all his land in Chester lying between the land of Roger of Tudynham citizen of Chester and the land which belonged to Master John Peck son of the aforesaid Agnes in Northgate Street. Rendering annually to the Capital Lords 7½d. for "londgabul" between the Feast of Ascension and Pentecost, and to grantor and his heirs one halfpenny at Pentecost, and to grantor for the terms of his life 6/8 at Christmas and the Nativity of St. John Baptist in equal portions. Witnesses, Hugh of Birchall then Mayor, Alexander Hurel, Randle of Daresbury, Richard of Tarvin, William of Doncaster, Richard Harald, David the Miller [*Molend'*], Roger of Tudynham, and Roger the Clerk.

[Circular seal, in green wax; an animal, possibly a dog, passant, at the foot of a tree; legend, S' RIC FIL RIC DE TOFT].

List of Seals

- No. 1. Seal of St. Mary's Nunnery (*c.* 1200).
,, 2. Seal of St. Mary's Nunnery (*c.* 1260).
,, 3. Seal of Abbot Hugh (1208—1226).
,, 4. Secretum of same.
,, 5. Seal of St. Werburgh's Abbey (*c.* 1225).
,, 6. Seal of Simon son of Ellen (*c.* 1230).
,, 7. Seal of Matilda wife of William the Cutler
(*c.* 1276).
,, 8. Seal of Robert son of Alan of Tarvin (*c.* 1310).*
,, 9. Seal of the Hospital of St. Giles', Boughton
(1311-2).*
,, 10. Seal of Adam Mustel (*c.* 1250).
,, 11. Seal of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist,
without the Northgate (*c.* 1240).
,, 12. Seal of William of Paris, bootmaker, of
Chester (1309).*
,, 13. Seal of Alan son of William Young (*c.* 1310).*
,, 14. Seal of Lady Alina of Toft (*c.* 1288).
,, 15. Seal of William the Cutler (*c.* 1276).


* The Documents to which these Seals are appended will, it is hoped, be printed in the next volume of the Society's Journal.



The Ancient Glass in the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A.,
ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(Read 20th January, 1903)

N Thursday Evening, May 30th, 1861, a paper was read before the members of this Society by Mr. J. Ralph, on "The History and Principles of Coloured Glass Decoration, with special reference to the proposed Memorial to the late Rev. Canon Slade." In the course of his remarks, the lecturer not only described the different processes used in manufacturing coloured glass, but also gave much interesting information about the history of stained glass in connection with architecture. Those who are fortunate enough to possess Part VII. (Old Series) of our Journal, will read the account of the lecture, and the subsequent remarks of various speakers, with considerable interest. But as all may not be the happy possessors of that volume, I venture to reproduce a few of the points brought out on that occasion, as a fitting introduction to a paper on "The Ancient Coloured Glass in the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill."

Major Egerton Leigh was in the Chair, and he, in common with other speakers, was of opinion that it was

quite possible to reproduce the colours and effects which we so justly admire in ancient glass. At the same time he remarked that coloured glass (like port wine) improved with age, and that the crust, with which time and our atmosphere combined to coat the old glass, often added richness and depth to the original colours. That this latter effect is not always produced by age is shown by the present condition of the beautiful stained glass in the Chapter House at York. A careful examination of this has recently been made by Mr. Grylls (of Messrs. Burlison & Grylls), who found it corroded to an extent that he had never seen before in forty-years' experience. It is more than doubtful whether the course of time will have such a mellowing effect on some of the modern windows, put in thirty or forty years ago, as to make them in anyway comparable with the ancient specimens which have been preserved to us. With regard to the windows in York Minster, we are told that "all the decorated glass in that Cathedral is corroding in the same manner, but that the Chapter House windows, being somewhat earlier than the rest, are in the worst condition." The remedy proposed is to protect the outside surface from the atmosphere by other plain glass, leaded in squares, and for this £500 will be required.

On the occasion to which I have referred, Mr. T. Hughes remarked on the curious affinity in many respects between the principles of heraldry and those of glass-painting, the ancient tinctures of both being alike, and quoted some quaint words from Randle Holme's *Academy of Armoury* :—

"Mettle upon mettle is bad Heraldry ;
Colour upon colour is false Armoury."

He then said, "It ought to be recorded that long after the Reformation many of the Cathedral windows

remained adorned with scriptural subjects. These, however, had gradually disappeared, until, 25 years ago (that would be in 1836), it was a subject of great regret to all strangers that there was not a single pane of coloured glass in Chester Cathedral; except, indeed, the head of the Virgin which then graced the apex of the clerestory window immediately over the Lady Chapel; and even this disappeared when the present handsome window was erected. Originally, the window had contained the genealogy of Christ, beginning at the base with the root of Jesse, and ending at the top with the figure of the Holy Virgin." I have not been able, as yet, to discover any trace of this fragment of old glass;¹ nor yet of another, which used to be in one of the compartments of the tracery of the window in the South Transept, now filled with glass by Mr. Kempe, as a memorial to some members of the Potts family. Two small quarries of coloured glass are the only specimens in the case in the Chapter House, where such treasures are usually preserved.

Perhaps it may be interesting here to note, with reference to the small amount of old coloured glass remaining in Chester, that Bishop Gastrell, in his "*Notitia Cestriensis*," makes no mention of any in connection with any other of our City Churches (unless, indeed, the "Arms" in S. Patrick's Isle, in Trinity, were in the windows there), but only in his notice of S. Mary *supra Montem*. We should, therefore, perhaps,

¹ Since this was written "the head of the Virgin" has been returned to the Dean and Chapter, and is now kept in the Chapter House. Bishop Bridgeman "glazed the east window over the Communion Table, with the story of the Annunciation, Nativity, Circumcision, and Presentation of our Saviour." "The Head of the Virgin" might be a relic from one of those scenes, and, if so, may be dated 1637; but Mr. Kempe, having seen the glass, ascribes it to W. Peckitt of York, who did much work in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century.

be justified in concluding that none else, of any moment, existed at the time when he drew up his account, *circa* 1720. His references are indeed taken from the Randle Holme MS., and mention the window set up by John Davenport, Rector 1534, in memory of a previous Rector; S. Katharine's Chapel window, made by *Ralph* Brereton, 1523; another by Worrall, Mayor of Chester 1521; and the Troutbeck Coat of Arms in the Troutbeck Chapel. As the Randle Holme MS. mentions several others, it is possible that Bishop Gastrell only alludes to those which were in existence in his time.

Before passing away from this point, I think I may safely say that most persons, when comparing old and modern glass, would generally pronounce the verdict, "The old is better."¹ The highest praise which we can give to the new is, that it approaches most nearly to the old in colour and general effect. When we find, as at York Minster, or Ludlow, or elsewhere, whole windows still filled with old decorated glass, we are lost in admiration of what has been thus handed down to us, and filled all the more with regret that carelessness or fanaticism has, in so many instances, deprived us of treasures which might still have adorned our Cathedrals and Parish Churches. And here I cannot help recalling a personal incident. In December 1886 I happened to be in York Minster when the stone-work of the large window in the South Choir-Transept was under repair. Advantage was taken of this opportunity to have the glass of that window thoroughly examined and over-

¹ With reference to the old glass, the following extract from the book on *Gloucester Cathedral*, in the Cathedral series, will be interesting:—"The white glass is of special beauty when compared with modern times. Its luminous pearly look comes from the fact that the body of the glass is full of minute bubbles, each of which catches the light, and then reflects it out from the interior of the glass, so that the glass is not only translucent, but is itself actually luminous, with innumerable centres of radiation."

hauled. I was present when the various panels, giving scenes in the life of S. Cuthbert, were being closely scrutinized by the Rev. Dr. Fowler of Durham. Those which were comparatively modern and inferior (and there were but few of these) were put on one side, to be replaced by others, which would be more worthy, and which would harmonise more exactly with that which was really old. I was particularly struck, not only with the jewel-like appearance of the glass, but also with the elaborate detail of the scenes depicted. Though, when in position, the general effect of the pictures would be simply kaleidoscopic, so to speak, yet the figures and details were as carefully drawn as if the picture were to be close to the eye of the beholder. The old artist had not been content with producing a good general effect, but had secured this whilst portraying, in a most elaborate manner, scenes from the life of the saint whom he was commemorating. The lesson to be derived from such a consideration is obvious.

Turning now to our special subject. I can imagine that anyone who had the privilege of living at York, or Tewkesbury, or Ludlow, or indeed in any place where a good deal of old glass has been preserved, would think but little of the very small quantity which is to be found in the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill. And yet, small though that quantity is, it is surely of considerable value in this City, as being the only specimen of ancient glass to be found now in any of our Churches. It is this consideration which has led me to bring that old Church again before your notice, for I cannot but look upon this old glass as one of its treasures. It is now in the tracery of the eastern and two of the southern windows of the Troutbeck Chapel. I have not been able to find any record as to when the glass, presumably collected from

other windows in the Church, was placed in its present position. It has probably been moved on several occasions, when the stonework of the windows has been renewed, as it evidently *has* been in recent years. It is impossible, therefore, to say to whom the arrangement of the glass is due. It is harmonious enough, though not always very intelligent, as when some lettering of an old inscription is reversed and placed upside down. An expert would, no doubt, detect some modern glass intermingled with the old. As to its general character, we may say that it is most interesting, and the effect of it is very pleasing; whilst it stands out in marked contrast to the cruder colours of some recent glass in the main portion of two of the windows. Some of it is suggestive of the jewels after which the old workmen named the colours which they used when working designs in glass. The fragments are, of course, of a miscellaneous character; but they give evidence of the richness of treatment originally in the windows, traces being left of canopies, pedestals, borders, and other architectural features, which must have been very elaborate.

In looking at the history of the glass, before commenting on it in detail, we turn, naturally, to the late Mr. Earwaker's valuable book on the Church and Parish of S. Mary-on-the-Hill. There is a brief description of it, as it now is, on page 22; whilst there is also a longer description of the old "heraldic glass," as it existed in 1578, taken from one of the manuscripts belonging to the collection of the Randle Holmes, now preserved in the British Museum. This will serve to give us the date of the glass, or of some portion of it.

The one Coat of Arms which has been preserved is that of Brereton quartering Ipstones. In the manu-

100

S. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester

The Old Glass in the tracery of the East Window

Dr. Stollenforb, Photo.

script referred to we find this Coat mentioned twice; once as being found "in one of the high windows of the chancell," and again in the east window of S. Katharine's Chapel, which was on the north side of the chancel. The inscription on this latter window, which was in Latin, was the following:—"Randal Brereton caused this glass work to be made in the year of our Lord 1523."¹ It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the glass, or at any rate some of it, dates from the early part of the 16th Century.² Probably this and the other decorated windows in the Church, which are described in the above-quoted manuscript, remained uninjured, in their original positions, until 1646, when, as we learn from another, preserved in the same collection, "all the curious windows and figures [therein] were, by the Roundheads, caused to be taken down and defaced, and cut in quarrells confusedly, and [the repairs] cost the parish, in the workmanship, £10." With reference to this destruction of windows, we learn, from Hanshall's *History of Cheshire*, that "Sir Wm. Brereton's forces defaced the Cathedral Choir; much injured the Organ; broke nearly all the painted glass in the Church windows; and demolished the Font." Can the preservation of the glass we are considering be due to the fact that the Parliamentarians, led by

¹ In Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis* we find, as I have already said, this entry: "St. Katharine's Chappell window was made by *Ralph* Brereton An(no) 1523." The confusion between the names Randal and Ralph was not uncommon.

² It is, perhaps, not without interest to note here the connection of the Brereton family with stained glass elsewhere. In Brereton Hall, called by Camden "a magnificent and sumptuous house," the Arms of the family occur in several of the windows, and also the date 1577. There were also some ancient painted figures of the Earls of Chester, which were removed by Sir Lister Holte to Aston Hall, but eventually bought by the Marquess of Westminster, and placed at Eaton. In Hanshall's *History of Cheshire*, the report that these windows formerly belonged to the Chapter House of Chester Cathedral, is deemed too absurd to demand a formal contradiction.

Sir Wm. Brereton, showed some little respect to a window put up by a Brereton?

In Dr. Ormerod's History, published in 1819, we are told that the windows on the *north* side "contained fragments of stained glass; amongst others, the Arms of Brereton and Ipstones, and a golden tun (probably intended as a rebus)." It would seem from this that the glass may have remained in S. Katharine's Chapel, where it had been placed in the first instance, until after 1819.

Sir Stephen Glynne left some interesting notes of visits to Cheshire Churches, and amongst them will be found the following, in a record of a visit which he paid to S. Mary's in 1852:—"The stained glass of the east window" (whether of the north or south Chapel or of the Chancel he does not say) "is partly modern, partly of ancient fragments." No mention is here made of the glass in the windows on the south side of the Troutbeck Chapel, which, as we shall presently see, differs in character from that in the east window.

Looking now at the glass in the eastern window in detail, we find, in the top compartment, some pieces of no particular pattern; in the two next below are the initials I.I.G. and A.B., fancifully joined together with a cord, like a true-lover's knot. I have tried in vain to identify the persons whose initials are here given.¹ Then below, in the centre, are the Brereton Arms quartering Ipstones, which are thus heraldically described in Mr. Earwaker's book, "Quarterly 1st and 4th Argent, two bars, sable; 2nd and 3rd Argent, a chevron between three Crescents Gules, Ipstones." On the left of this

¹ A Thomas Gamul married Alice Bavand about 1600, but, unfortunately, the initials do not correspond.

is an emblem of the Passion, a shield bearing the Five Sacred Wounds in Hands and Feet and Heart. On the right is a nondescript imitation of a Coat of Arms, made up of fragments of coloured glass. Below these, and immediately above the principal lights of the window, are the following, beginning from the left:—First, some letters forming part of an inscription, not, however, in Latin, but in English; it begins with the word “Of,” and closer examination showed that the words following, on another piece, had been inserted the wrong way round, and that they were “your charity”; doubtless followed, originally, by the words, “Pray for the souls of,” with the names of those in whose memory the window was erected. In Hanshall’s *History of Cheshire* (p. 246), we are told that “in a high window in the middle aisle appears the following, ‘Of your charity pray for the soul of Matthew Ellis and Elizabeth his wife.’” These letters may have formed part of this inscription.

In the next compartment is “the Chalice and Host,” the cup being very interesting and elegant. This emblem, we know, was much used to mark the graves of priests. It is possible, therefore, that this may have been part of a memorial to some ecclesiastic; and we know that there was a window erected to the memory of Richard Pencell, who was Rector from 1430 to 1458.¹ Next to this we have the *rebus* of the Brereton family, consisting of a *Tun*, round which a *Brier* is

¹ We learn from Bishop Gastrell’s *Notitia Cestriensis*, that a window was set up by Joh: Davenport, Rector in 1534, with the inscription “Orate pro anima Joh: Willesty (Willaston) quondam Rect. hujus eccles: 1400.” He was really presented in 1404, by the Abbot of S. Werburgh. This window seems to have been erected by a subsequent Rector, as it contained, also, another inscription, “Orate pro anima Johannis Davenport hujus ecclesiæ rectoris qui hanc fenestram fieri fecit MDXXXIV.” It was in this year that John Davenport was succeeded by John Brereton.

growing. On this treatment of names I will make some further remarks presently. The next two spaces contain shields (similar to that bearing the Five Wounds), on which are what I take to be other Passion emblems, though the combination is not, perhaps, a usual one. The Rev. W. N. Howe has kindly furnished me with a list of the most general emblems of the Passion: the Nails; the Hammer; the Pillar of the Scourging (sometimes with a cord round it); the Scourges; the Lantern of the Betrayal; the Spear; the Sponge and the Reed; the Cock; the Dish containing the Sacred Blood; the Seamless Coat; the Loin-cloth; S. Veronica's Handkerchief; the Dice; the Bag and 30 pieces of Silver. Of those we are considering, the first has a hammer, and what, I had supposed, might be (as being in connection with it) three nails of a very conventional sort. The Rev. Dr. Fowler of Durham (no mean authority), suggests that this is "probably a Passion Shield, with hammer and three dice-boxes. The dice are often, and the boxes sometimes, I think, introduced." The other has a bird on a perch, from which is suspended a robe or garment of some kind. This, I imagine (and Dr. Fowler is of the same opinion), is probably the Seamless Coat hung on a rod, and the Cock which often appears in such representations. I ought, perhaps, to say that Dr. Fowler has not had the opportunity of seeing the glass, but only a rough sketch of it. In the next compartment is a shield bearing "the Five Wounds" (the counterpart of the one already mentioned). This, however, seems slightly different in nature and colour, and is, probably, a modern copy of the other, which is old.

In the adjoining space is something which created some difficulty in my mind. In a circle, which is

S. Marston-Bill, Chester

EAST

WEST

The Old Glass in the Southeast Window

Dr. Stollers, Photo.

surrounded by a slight golden border, are the letters, in Old-English characters, "Ingod." There is no space between *In* and *god*, and the only capital is the *I* at the beginning. The interpretation which I put upon it is, that it is part of a text or inscription, which, in its original position, was in several compartments, so that the portions in each were placed in circles, surrounded by a delicate border.¹ If this were so, Dr. Fowler says, "The small 'g' need not present any difficulty, for the post-mediæval use of capitals, even for Divine names, is comparatively modern. I have seen a bell-inscription, *in god is al quod (quoth) gabriel*, no capitals being used. I think capitals came in with printing, but not with the earliest printing, except at the beginning of new subjects, as in the manuscripts." The fact that in another compartment is found "the Chalice and Host," has suggested to some the idea that this also may have reference to the Blessed Sacrament. Can it represent a Wafer, or the receptacle in which the Wafers were kept? There is an interesting specimen of a metal reliquary band, as it is termed, in the Meols Collection in this Museum. On this is the inscription "In God is al"; but here the words are distinct, and they recall the bell-inscription mentioned by Dr. Fowler. If this phrase were common in mediæval times, we need not be surprised at finding only the opening words of it, which would naturally suggest to the reader the rest.

In the last compartment are some more letters. Again we have "Of," as if the beginning of the familiar phrase "Of your charity pray for the soules of———;" but the rest and larger portion I have not been able to decipher, not even with the aid of my son, who mounted

¹ Thus: [In God] [is my health] [and my glory], *Psalm lxi.*; or [In God] [have I put] [my trust], *Psalm lvi.*

a ladder for the purpose. In this I have been disappointed, for I had quite hoped that a closer inspection of the letters (and there are fragments of inscriptions, also, in various other parts) might have revealed something, and enabled us to identify the glass with some of that described in the Randle Holme MSS.

Turning now to the glass in the windows on the south side, we find, as I have already intimated, that it differs in character from that which we have been considering. It consists of eight figures, four in each window, the glass around them being arranged in imitation of the canopies under which they may originally have been. These fragments are sufficient to show that very graceful and elegant designs must have existed in some of the windows; the colouring is very rich and clear; whilst the fact that we have here eight figures, proves that the glass in the Church was not entirely *heraldic*. Of the eight figures three are male, and, by the ecclesiastical dress which they wear, are apparently deacons, as they all seem to be clad in dalmatics. The nimbus is found on all the eight, except one, from which it has probably disappeared. The drawing, both with regard to the features and postures, is very varied and beautiful. Several are quite perfect; in some, portions of the drapery have been supplied from other sources. Taking them in order, beginning from the east end, the first figure is that of an ecclesiastic, a deacon wearing the dalmatic, carrying a book in the right hand, whilst the left hand and the bottom of the figure have disappeared. Next we have a female, without a nimbus, and with drapery supplied chiefly from other figures. In the next we have a female, holding in her hands a lily; this may, therefore, represent the Blessed Virgin, possibly, as a child. The fourth figure is a female, carrying

5. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester

EAST

WEST

The Old Glass in the Southwest Window

Dr. Stofferjoh, Photo

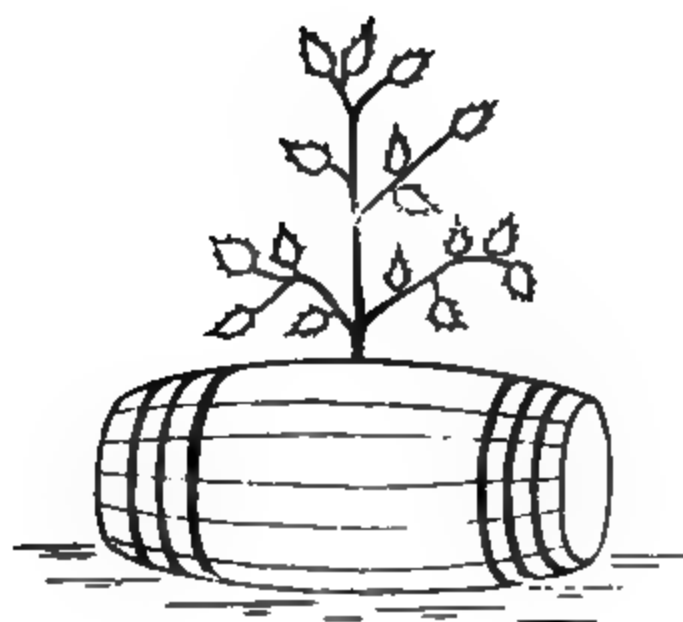
the palm of martyrdom ; the golden yellow of the dress is noticeable. Coming now to the window at the west end of the chapel, we have first what looks like a repetition of the figure of a deacon in the other window, only, in this case, the left hand has not disappeared, but is found holding a sword, whilst the vestments are perfect. Next we have a female figure, with nimbus, with palm in one hand and sword in the other. Then we find an ecclesiastic, wearing a dalmatic, and therefore a deacon, but not a reproduction of the other two, as the figure is turned in the opposite direction ; here, again, the lower portion has gone. The last figure is a female one, carrying what looks like a sheaf.

It is, perhaps, hazardous to conjecture what may have been the original position of the windows in which these figures were first placed. The three ecclesiastics are all deacons by their dress. We know that there was an Altar to S. Stephen in the Church ; can these figures have been in close proximity to it, and represent some of the Order of Deacons, as S. Vincent, though the special emblems by which S. Stephen and S. Laurence are distinguished are absent ? There was also an Altar to S. Katharine in the North Chapel ; can the female saints, evidently virgins, have been near to it, even though the wheel of S. Katharine is not now to be found amongst them ? Wherever the glass may have been, even if it has been brought here from some other Church, we cannot but be thankful that there is still to be seen in one of our Chester Churches, some specimens of this ancient art, though it makes us regret all the more the vandalism or carelessness which has deprived us of very much more.

A few words may be added on the use of the rebus. The word is Latin, and really means "by things," and

is applied to a mode of expressing words and phrases by pictures of objects, whose names resemble those words, or the syllables of which they are composed; an enigmatical representation of words by figures. Names with the termination "ton" naturally lend themselves to this treatment. I remember, more than thirty years ago, accompanying the Yorkshire Archæological Society in one of its Excursions. We visited an old Hall, close to Thornhill Lees Station, which was, or had formerly been, the property of a family named Nettleton. There is a large room there beautifully decorated, and over the fireplace a chimney-piece in oak richly carved, one of the panels bearing the Nettleton rebus. If one syllable was not capable of pictorial illustration, it was written in letters on the object representing the other portion; thus, we have the rebus for Burton and many others. Dr. Fowler tells me that "there is a very good one, carved in stone, at Fountains Abbey, supporting a niche over the great west window. It is the figure of an eagle holding a crozier, and perched on a tun from which issues a label inscribed 'Dern 1494.' The eagle is the symbol of S. John, and is meant to signify the Christian name, so that the whole thing represents: Abbot John Dernton or Darnton." He adds: "Parkinson, the herbalist, has, on his title-page, a circle of palings, representing a park, within a sun (Park-in-sun); and the title of his book is '*Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*,' rendered thus: Parkinson's Earthly Paradise." Day, the Reformation printer, had a man watching the sun rise, with the words, "Arise, for it is Day." At Jesus College, Cambridge, the rebus of its founder, Bishop Alcock, occurs frequently. For instance, on one side of the gateway is a cock perched on an orb, and on a scroll issuing from its mouth is the legend, in

Examples of Rebus



Pettleton



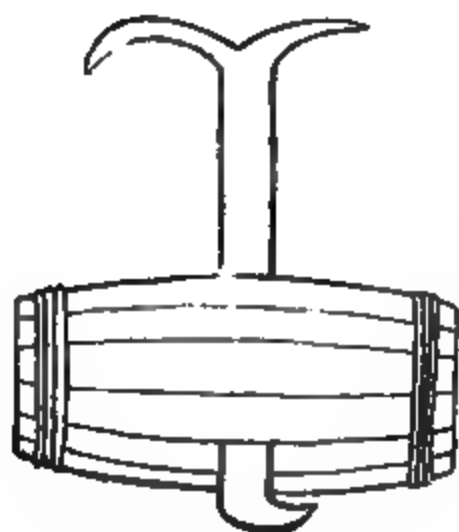
Alcock



Goldstone
(Prior of Canterbury)



Barton



Langton
(Musical sign for a "long" and tun)


Breton
(Brier tun)

...

Greek, "I am a Cock"; on the opposite side is a similar representation, only the legend is altered to the reply the bird makes, "So am I."

The presence of this rebus in the window has led some people to imagine that some of the shields, which we have called Passion Shields, may really be canting Coats of Arms. Of this kind are the "three hands" for Tremayne; "three bugle-horns" for Hornby; "three bees" for Beeston; and "three calves" for Calveley. So, too, for the City of Oxford, we have an ox crossing a ford. But though the Passion emblems (if they be such) are not what are usually found, the treatment is quite different to that in the rebus, and the shields are analogous to the one on which are the Five Wounds; whilst all the shields are surrounded with the same rope or cord of green, whatever that may mean. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the explanation already given is the correct one, and that they all are Passion Shields.

Since the above paper was read, the three lower lights in the western window, on the south side, have been filled with stained glass as a memorial to the late Mrs. Llewelyn Roberts. The work has been executed by one of our own members (Mr. Gilbert P. Gamon, 195, Oxford Street, London), and harmony of colour, between the old and new glass, has been carefully studied and preserved. It is interesting to note that he has used for his monogram a rebus, viz.: a lion's paw or jambe (or gamb) with the initials O.N., making Gam(b)on or Gamon.



S. Werburgh and her Shrine

BY THE VEN. E. BARBER, M.A.,
ARCHDEACON OF CHESTER

(Read 3rd February, S. Werburgh's Day, 1903)

WE owe our knowledge of S. Werburgh mainly to the metrical life of the Saint written by Henry Bradshaw, a monk of S. Werburgh's Monastery, who died in 1513, and was buried there. The full title of his work is "The Holy Lyfe and History of Saynt Werburge, very frutefull for all Christen people to rede." It was printed by Pynson in 1521, and was reprinted by the Chetham Society, as their Fifteenth Volume, in 1848. This reprint, reproducing the original black letter and quaint spelling, is most interesting. It extends to over 200 pages. This afternoon I shall only give you a short epitome of it, premising that it purports to be a translation into English verse from the original Chronicle or Passionary, stated by him to be preserved in the Monastery. He makes frequent allusions to the Venerable Bede (whom he styles his author), as also to "Master Alfrydus, William Malmsburge, Gyrarde, Polycronycon, and other mo(re)"; thus disclosing the sources (or some of them) from which he derived his information.

S. Werburgh was born about 650, and was the daughter of Wulfhere, King of Mercia (whose name is



Chester Cathedral

The Shrine, as the Bishop's Throne
(from a drawing by J. S. Prout, A.D. 1806—1876)

perpetuated in Wolverhampton) and Ermenhild his wife. She was thus descended from four royal families. Her father was the second son of Penda, King of Mercia, who claimed descent from Woden. Her mother was the daughter of Earconbert, King of Kent, and was thus a descendant both of Tytillus, King of East Anglia, and of S. Edwin, King of Northumberland. She was also connected with the Kings of France, as S. Ermenhild's grandfather and great-grandfather both married princesses of that royal house. We may say that she was of saintly as well as of royal lineage, for five of her grandfather Penda's children (pagan though he himself was) earned the title of Saint; whilst her mother's family included the names of S. Hilda, S. Etheldreda, S. Ethelburga, and S. Sexburga (her mother).

The Kingdom of Mercia was of wide extent, for it was bounded on the north by the Humber and Mersey; on the east by the sea; on the south by the Thames; and on the west by a line stretching from Chester to Shrewsbury, and then by the Severn to Bristol. In the limits of this kingdom there were five episcopal sees.

Wulfhere and his queen chiefly lived at Stone, in Staffordshire, where S. Werburgh, under the care of her good mother, grew up. Bradshaw gives a very interesting picture of her early years, in which her religious disposition, fostered, no doubt, by her mother's influence and example, manifested itself in various ways. Thus:—

“First in the morning to Church she would go,
Following her mother the queene every day,
With her boke and bedes, and depart not them fro,
Hear all divine service, and her devocyons say;
And to our Blessed Saviour, mekely on her knees pray,
Daily Him desiring, for His endless grace and pity,
To keep her from sin, and preserve her in chastity.”

She was an only daughter, having three brothers. She listened with earnest attention to every word of instruction and advice; abjured giddy pleasures; and found her truest joy in contemplation of heavenly things, and holiest bliss arising from a pure conscience, chastened by fasting, and sanctified by prayer.

Without dwelling on the description which Bradshaw gives of her young days, and of her virtues (over which he seems to linger fondly), we may say that though she attracted many suitors, she courteously dismissed them all. Among these was the Prince of the West Saxons; and a full account is given of his interview with S. Werburgh, of his offer of marriage, and of all his worldly goods:—

“Landes, rentes and libertees all at your pleasure;
Servantes every hour, your byddyng for to do,
With ladyes in your chambre, to wayte on you also.”

She gently but firmly declines, saying:—

“But now I shewe you playnly my true mynde,
My purpose was never maryed for to be;
A lorde I have chosen, Redeemer of Mankynde,
Jhesu the Second Persone in Trynyte,
To be my Spouse.”

Then Werbode, a powerful Knight and chief steward in her father's household, urges his suit. He gains an evil influence over King Wulfhere, but Ermenhild and her sons do not favour his cause. He even induces the King to become, if not actually an apostate, yet at any rate distinctly hostile to Christianity. The King consents to the union, if only Werbode can win over S. Werburgh herself. She says she has vowed herself to God, and can have nothing to say to him; but her mother and brothers use stronger language, and revile him in no measured terms. Retiring in wrath, he plots

revenge. He persuades the King that his sons Wulfade and Ruffyn are plotting against him; leads him into the forest, where they are found in S. Chad's cell, being instructed by the good Bishop in the Christian faith; and then, in his blind rage, the King slays them both and rushes back to his castle. No sooner did he return than he is seized with sore pains, the mark of God's vengeance. Stung with remorse, he repented of his apostasy; repaired to S. Chad; professed his contrition; promised to destroy all idols and temples in his realm, and to build monasteries; and founded the Abbey of Peterborough, and a Priory at Stone:—

“To the honour of God and these martyrs twayne.”

And now S. Werburgh begs her father to be allowed to become “a religious,” and to enter the Abbey of Ely, where her great-aunt, S. Etheldreda (or Audry), was the Abbess. Wulfhere is reluctant and slow to consent, but at length he yields, and, when the matter was once settled, does it nobly. He ordered all his nobles to keep fast with him, and then all together to set out for Ely. When he came near, S. Audry came out to meet them with her following in state, and the two processions met. Then followed a royal feast, fully described by Bradshaw, with the company assembled; the tapestries portraying scripture stories hung inside the tent; and the classical songs wherewith the minstrels entertained the guests.

After her year of probation S. Werburgh made her holy profession with great solemnity, and her biographer holds her up to the ladies of his day as an example of virtue and humility.

On the death of Wulfhere, his widow, Ermenhild herself repaired to the Convent at Ely, where her mother,

S. Sexburga, had succeeded her sister, S. Audry, as Abbess, and vied with her daughter in her piety and devotion. Wulfhere was succeeded as King by his brother Ethelred, to whom, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, is due the building, in 689, of the Monastery of S. John the Baptist in Chester. Ethelred fully appreciated his niece's character, and, seeing her holy conversation, made her Lady and President at Weedon, Trentham, and Hanbury; thus making her ruler of the nuns within his realm. He himself also took the vows and became a monk, resigning the crown to his nephew Cenred, S. Werburgh's brother, who, after a short reign of five years, followed his uncle's example; went to Rome the year of grace 708, and was "professed to Saint Benette's relygion," and "frome this lyfe transytory, with vertu departed to eternal glory."

Bradshaw goes on to describe "the gostly devocion of Saynt Werburge, and vertuous governans of her places"; and, if the chronicler is to be trusted, she showed a marvellous capacity for ruling her abbeys. Her behaviour and character is thus described:—

"She was a minister, rather than a mistress;
 Her great pre-eminence caused no presumption,
 Serving her systers with humble subjection.

 Piteous and merciful and full of charity
 To the poor people in their necessity.

 She never commanded systers to do anything
 But it was fulfilled in her own doing."

Various miracles are ascribed to her agency. Her life was mainly spent between Weedon, Trentham, Repton, and Hanbury; and it was at Trentham she died, enjoining that her body should rest at Hanbury. When she felt her end approaching, she gave orders as to her

successors and officers in the monasteries; and calling the sisters round her, gave them her last exhortation: to live in temperance, obedience, and love; recited the Creed; received the Blessed Sacrament; and

“The third day of February, ye may be sure,
Expired from this life, caduce and transitory,
To eternal blyss, coronate with victory,
Changing her lyfe, miserable and thrall,
For infinite joy, and glory eternal.”

This was probably in the year 699 A.D. The people of Trentham buried her in that place, watching over the body lest it should be removed. However, the people of Hanbury came, and a deep sleep having fallen upon the watchers, the Hanburgenses were enabled to carry the body safely to Hanbury, where it was first interred in the chancel, beneath the floor; but nine years after her death, in the summer of 708, it was moved from the grave to a shrine with great pomp, in the presence of her cousin King Ceolred, the Bishops, and Clergy. Here, says the chronicler, the body remained whole and substantial “for nearly 200 years, till the coming of the pagan Danes,” when “it was resolved and fell to powder lest the wicked miscreants with impious hands should dare to touch it.”

It was then, in 875 A.D., that (to save it from violation by the Danes, who had already destroyed Weedon and Trentham, and had come as far as Repton) the people of Hanbury were inspired to bring the body to Chester, and

“The relique, the Shryne full memorative,
Was brought to Chestre for our consolacion,
Reverently receyved set with devocion
In the mouter Church of Saint Peter and Paule
(As afore is sayd) a place most principall.”

A full description is given of the solemn reception of the shrine, and also of the gifts wherewith rich and poor vied with each other to enrich it :—

“The people with devocion and mynde fervent
Gave divers enornentes unto this place ;
Some gave a cope, and some a vestement,
Some other a chalice, and some a corporace,
Many albes and other clothes offered ther was,
Some crosses of Golde, some bookes, some belles,
The poor folk gave surges, torches, and towelles.”

Where this Church of S. Peter and S. Paul exactly was it is impossible to say. Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred, built a separate minster for S. Werburgh, joining it to the east end of the older Church. This building (rebuilt, we are told, by Leofric,¹ Earl of Chester) gave place to the Norman structure of Hugh Lupus, in the erection of which he was assisted by the advice of S. Anselm. But, through all these changes and vicissitudes, the name of S. Werburgh was associated with the dedication of the Church, and her shrine must have found its home there. We are justified in feeling regret that this old connection was severed, in one respect, at the foundation of the See by Henry VIII., when this Church was constituted the Cathedral Church of the Diocese, by the name of “The Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chester.” There are still some nine Churches in England where the dedication to S. Werburgh remains, and six of these are within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Mercia, as given by Bradshaw. One of these is in Cheshire, at Warburton (Werburgh Town), thus preserving in the name of the place and of an honoured Cheshire family, the memory of our Saint.

¹ He must have been a great Church builder, for he rebuilt Much Wenlock Priory as a semi-monastic foundation.

Though I have detained you long enough already, I cannot refrain from giving you (before turning to the second part of my subject) an appreciation of S. Werburgh from another source.

“She was such a mistress towards those under her that she rather seemed to be their servant; she made herself equal to, or, rather, placed herself beneath the lowest, preferring, if possible, the lowest to the highest place. She carried all as her own bowels; instructed them more sedulously by example than by command. She was wholly possessed by love, and kindness, and peace, and joy. Her bounty towards the poor was most ready; her devotion towards the afflicted most compassionate. Adversity she smiled at in her patience, overcame it by faith, and trod it down by heavenly joy. Prosperity she accepted, to be turned to account for heavenly wisdom. She preferred abstinence to luxury; watching to sleep; labour to pleasure; prayers and holy reading to banquets; whilst her body moved on earth, her soul was in heaven.”

Now as to the Shrine. Strictly speaking, we do not possess the *Shrine* of S. Werburgh. The word shrine (derived from the Latin *scrinium*, a case, chest, or box) signifies a box or receptacle, specially one in which are deposited sacred relics, as the bones of a saint. Shrines were often made of the most splendid and costly materials, and enriched with jewels in profusion. Perhaps one of the most celebrated and sumptuous is that of the Three Kings, at Cologne, where the value of the jewels is said to be £240,000. What the shrine in which the remains of S. Werburgh were preserved was made of we do not know.¹ It is called, by Bradshaw, in one passage,

¹ In Dean Howson's Guide. on the last page, mention is made of the *silver* shrine; but no authority is given for the statement.

“a riall relique” (royal relic); and in another we are told that—

“The Citezens offered to the sayd Virgine
For the great miracles among them wrought
Many riall gyftes of jewels to the Shrine.”

It was portable, for it was not only brought here, as we have seen, from Hanbury, but it was carried about in processions, and in times of danger and emergency. It was thus “set on the towne walles for help and tuicion”; to save Chester from the attacks of the Welsh; and again—

“The devout Chanons sette the holy Shryne
Agaynst their enemies at the sayd Northgate,”

“when innumerable barbarike nations purposed to destroye and spoyle the cite.” Similarly, Bradshaw tells us “howe in 1180 a great fire, like to destroye all Chestre, by myracle ceased when the holy shryne was borne about the towne by the monkes.”

Doubtless, there was a particular resting place for this Shrine in the Church, or, rather, in the successive Churches where it was placed. As there is no trace of the original Church, and the remains of the Norman one are not extensive, we cannot tell where it was placed in those edifices, nor whether the structure which contained it was of a solid and ornate character. Nor does the plan of the Monastery, in the Randle Holme Collection in the British Museum, give any indication as to the position of the Shrine at the time of the dissolution of the Monastery.

It will be convenient in what follows to allude to the structure now standing at the west end of the Lady Chapel as “the Shrine.” The late Canon Blomfield, in a Paper read on February 1st, 1858, expressed the opinions that the eastern extremity of the Norman Choir

Chester Cathedral

The Shrine, as the Bishop's Throne, as restored by Canon Blad

R. Newstead, Photo.

was occupied by the Chapel and Shrine of S. Werburgh; that the original position of the Shrine was, probably, preserved when the Lady Chapel was built at the end of the 13th Century, but instead of being in a separate Chapel to the east of the Choir, it now fell within the Choir itself; and that this position was believed to have remained until the Reformation, when the Shrine was removed, and the lower portion converted into a Throne for the Bishop. Hanshall, however, in his history, states that it "formerly stood in the Chapel of the Virgin, at the east end of the Choir," in which case it has now been erected on the site it then occupied.

It has been moved several times, as old prints show, though I have not come across any records of these various removals. It stood, for instance, under or near the middle arch of the south side of the Choir, where the Bishop's Throne now stands. This may have been its position when it was first reconstructed as an Episcopal "Cathedra," on the foundation of the See. It was moved one bay westwards by Dean Anson, when the Choir was moved in that direction, so as to include the space under the central tower.¹ When the present Throne was erected, in conformity with the beautiful woodwork of the Choir Stalls, it was erected temporarily in the south Choir Aisle, and was moved thence to the Lady Chapel in 1888.

It will be well to say something about its appearance (so far as can be gathered from old prints and photographs) in these various positions. We may say, then,

¹ It was when in this position that it was restored by Canon Slade, in 1846, in memory of his father-in-law, Bishop Law. The following inscription was on a brass plate affixed to the Throne:—"In gloriam Dei hanc cathedram reficiendam curavit A.D. MDCCCXLVI. Jacobus Slade A.M. hujus ecclesiae Canonicus hecnon in piam memoriam Georgii Henrici Law S.T.P. per XII. annos Episcopi Cestriensis dein Bathoniensis."

that the lower portion was exactly the same in each place, and represents, or rather is, the pedestal or sub-structure of the Shrine as erected in the 14th Century. The only variation I have come across is this: in the plate in Hanshall's *History of Cheshire* it stands upon the ground, without that platform or base of plain stone which we now see. The plate is not very elaborate, and the absence of this base may be due to the inaccuracy of the artist. We have, however, Prout's beautiful and, probably, correct representation, from which it seems that the Throne was placed close to the Stalls on the south side, and that the eastern Stall, with a raised desk, was used for the Chaplain. On the centre of the canopy, in the front, is a mitre, which does not appear in the illustration in Hanshall. On this pedestal was placed what we may call the crown of the Shrine, round three sides, the portion on the south side (which we must suppose was there originally) being removed so as to form an entrance (approached by a flight of steps) to the Bishop's seat. The part thus removed was probably destroyed, and is not likely to be recovered. The inner surface of the space thus enclosed was, I imagine, encased in wood, the panelling at the back or south side being raised sufficiently high to support a canopy. In the earliest prints of the Throne, as thus constructed, which I have seen, this canopy seems to be of the date of Bishop Bridgeman, or the early part of the 17th Century; it may, of course, have been older still, or it may have taken the place of an older one; or, in the first instance, there may have been no canopy at all. To the east and west were curtains, depending from this projecting covering. The Bishop's chair would be at the west side, and his prayer-desk on the north.

In a pamphlet published in 1749, Dr. Wm. Cowper (a native of this city, and Mayor in 1754) gives a full

description of "this piece of antiquity." I have not been fortunate enough to come across this pamphlet.¹ It is, however, freely quoted from by Hanshall, Hemingway, and others; and we gather from it that "around the upper part" of the Throne "is a range of little images, designed to represent the Kings and Saints of the Mercian Kingdom. Each held in one hand a scroll with the name inscribed." The figures had been sadly mutilated, as well as the labels; and Hemingway makes merry over the restoration of the former, when a mason being employed to mend their majesties put Kings' heads on Queens' shoulders, and *vice versâ*. Dr. Cowper gives the number of figures then existing as thirty, saying that, originally, there were thirty-four, and that four had been lost, two at the west and two at the east. At that time the names on seventeen of the scrolls seem to have been perfect; on six only a few letters appeared; and seven were altogether blank. Closer examination has not revealed any inscription, so that if the names were cut and not painted the hollows have been now filled in. The names thus given show that the figures were intended to represent Kings and Saints of the Mercian line, and thus nearly related to S. Werburgh. Hanshall tells us that the inscriptions were in Latin, and in old English letters.

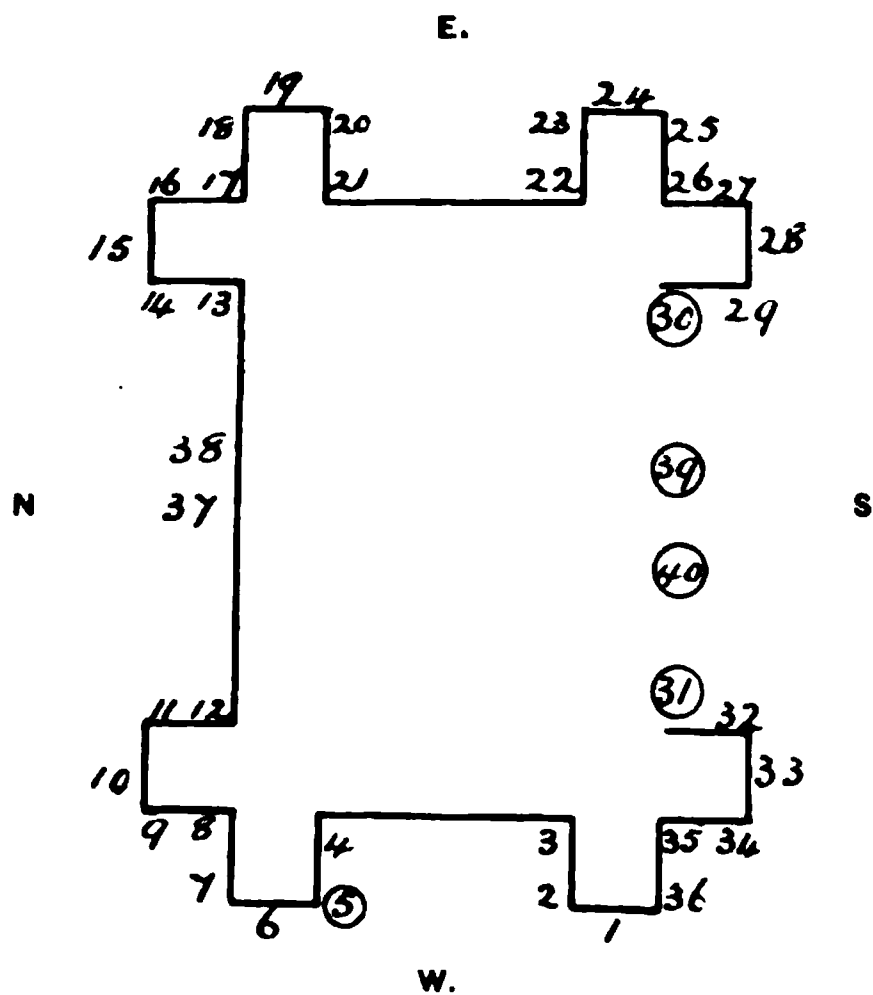
Dr. Cowper gives two lists: first the names as they appeared, and then another with a brief description of the personages. From the latter we gather that these were—

1. Creoda, founder of the Kingdom of Mercia about 584;

¹ Since this was written I have obtained a copy of "A Summary of the Life of St. Werburgh, with an historical account of the Images upon her Shrine." This may be a later edition of Dr. Cowper's tract; at any rate the figures correspond to those given in Hanshall and Hemingway.

2. Penda, grandson of Creoda ;
3. Wulfhere, son of Penda, father of S. Werburgh ;
4. Ceolred, nephew of Wulfhere and son of Ethelred, *husband* of S. Werburgh ;
- 5.
6. Offa, the great King of Mercia ;
7. Egbferth, son of Offa ;
- 8.
9. S. Kenelin, son of Cenwulf King of Mercia ;
10. S. Mildburga, daughter of Merewald, fourth son of King Penda, who founded the first religious house at Much Wenlock ;
11. Beorna, King of the East Angles ;
12. Ceolwulf, uncle of S. Kenelm, and King of Mercia ;
- 13.
14. S. Ermenhild, mother of S. Werburgh ;
15. Rex us ;
16. Rex [Etheldred]us, paternal uncle of S. Werburgh (who became a monk, and afterwards Abbot of Bardenay) ;
17. St^a. Keneburga, paternal aunt of S. Werburgh ;
18. S. Kenredus, a pastoral staff in hand, brother of S. Werburgh, who resigned the crown to Coelred, *and accepted of an Abbacy*, but died in the Monastery of S. Peter at Rome ;
- 19.
20. Baldredus, Governor of the Kingdom of Kent ;
21. (S.) Merewald, fourth son of Penda ;
22. Wiglaf, King of Mercia ;
23. Bertwulph, brother of Wiglaf ;
24. Berghredus, tributary King of Mercia ;

Chester Cathedral



Plan of the Crown of the Shrine, showing position of the figures

Number of figures when the Shrine was complete, 40.

Number of figures at present, 35.

(Those numbered 5, 30, 31, 39, 40, are missing).

Number of figures with heads, all male and crowned, 3.

(These are numbered 12, 37, 38, on the plan).

The figure No. 16 has a mitre, but the head underneath has disappeared; it holds a staff, as also does No. 18, where a mark will be found showing that there has been a crown or mitre. The bosses under the figures 16, 18, 25, 26, and 27, are specially noticeable.

The numbering of the figures on the plan is suggested as, *possibly*, corresponding to those given by Dr. Cowper in his list. It is, of course, quite conjectural; but if it is correct it will be seen that the uncle of S. Werburgh, Etheldredus (No. 16) and her brother Kenredus (No. 18) each carry a pastoral staff, they having resigned their crowns, and become Monks and eventually Abbots.

- 25.
26. S. [Ætheldr]eda, aunt of S. Werburgh ;
- 27.
- 28.
29. Rex Ethelbertus, supposed to be Æthelbert, first Christian King of Kent, and great-grandfather of S. Werburgh ;
30. S. Mildrida, daughter of Merewald and cousin of S. Werburgh.

It is, perhaps, not possible to identify any of the existing figures with these persons, as at present no names can be deciphered ; but of this presently.

The next alteration in the position and appearance of the Shrine (or Throne) was under Dean Anson, when it was moved one bay westward, and was re-erected by Canon Slade, as a memorial to Bishop Law. The wooden canopy was removed ; “the crown” was lifted up and supported on Gothic architectural stone-work, and surmounted by pinnacles of the same character ; the lower compartment, enclosing the Bishop’s seat, being filled up with panels of a similar description. Some present will, no doubt, have a vivid recollection of the Throne as thus reconstructed.

When, under Dean Howson, the Choir was moved back to the eastern side of the crossing, the Shrine found a temporary resting place in the south aisle of the Choir, the lower portion being once more rebuilt, whilst the crown was simply placed in pieces upon it. The modern additions were dispersed, and may be seen (or some of them) in the garden of Mrs. Wiseman, Dee Banks. I have been told that a complete reconstruction of the Shrine was at that time contemplated by the Dean,

but that he was dissuaded from undertaking it. It was at this time that some fragments of the old Shrine, as it originally existed, were recovered. I give the account of this discovery, taken from the *Cheshire Observer* of June 21st, 1873 :—

“The vaulting of the North Aisle was begun in 1872, and has been brought to its completion, where it abuts on the restored *Roman* (*sic*) arch at its western extremity. In taking down the partition wall which used to conceal this arch, a discovery of much interest was made. Some fragments, of great beauty, which had been used in the construction of this wall, were found to be portions of S. Werburgh's Shrine, and to correspond with other portions employed in the making of the Bishop's throne. It is remarkable that this discovery took place about the time when the Shrine of S. Alban in S. Alban's Abbey was brought to view.”

Though no mention is made here of any figures, and the fragments were, therefore, most probably mainly architectural, giving the height of the crown from the pedestal, yet Mr. D. B. Jones (who, as a boy, was present when the discovery was made) has a distinct recollection of one or more figures being then found. These recovered fragments were placed near the Shrine, as it stood in the south Choir Aisle.

I may here interject a very brief account of the Shrine of S. Alban, called by G. G. Scott “the crowning glory” of that great Abbey, and constructed of Purbeck marble. “The Shrine has been re-constructed from more than 2000 pieces of which it was composed, which were found built up in a wall, designed,” says Mr. Scott, “to secure, within the walls of the Abbey Church, and upon the site of five desecrated altars, a convenient covered playground for the grammar scholars of S. Alban's Town. These pieces were carefully put together in 1872. The Shrine proper, or *feretrum*, which was borne in the

processions, stood on the top of the pedestal, and was covered by a wooden canopy, which could be raised or lowered by means of a rope running through a pulley." [Whether there was a similar arrangement here, or whether the *feretrum* was small enough to be taken through the openings of the arches at the side or ends, we cannot now say]. "The watch gallery on the north side is of carved oak, and in it a monk was posted to keep continual guard over the Shrine."

In the autumn of 1888, under the present Dean, the Shrine was moved to its present position, the site accorded to it originally in Hanshall's History. The recovered parts enabled Sir Arthur Blomfield to determine exactly the height of the crown from the pedestal; but no attempt was made to restore it, so to speak, by putting in fresh carving, plain stone being inserted where it was necessary to do so to preserve the true proportions. You will all be familiar with the beautiful drawing of the Shrine by Mr. Railton, in the Dean's delightful little book, *Chester Cathedral*. Father Dallow has also sent an exact reproduction of it from a photograph, taken from the same point of view, the north-west. This latter shows the recovered pieces, which definitely settled the height of the crown from the pedestal.

A few words may be added as to some of the features of the Shrine. We may notice first the ogee arches in the pedestal, a mark of the Decorated style; though it continued to be used throughout the Perpendicular period. It is very common over niches, tombs, and small doorways (you will find two over the *awmbries* in the Choir here); but the difficulty of constructing it securely precluded its general adoption for large

openings. This fixes the date as 14th Century. The openings formed by these arches probably became receptacles for the votive offerings made by visitors, whether originally intended for this purpose or not. There are similar openings in the Shrine of S. Alban.

A closer inspection in a favourable light will reveal some interesting and beautiful details. The bosses forming the pedestals for the figures are elaborately carved, and of varied form. Sometimes they represent foliage; sometimes an animal or monster; these occurring alternately in the south-east and north-east corners.

There are thirty-five figures, with three vacant spaces, not counting the two which may be supposed to have existed in the missing portion of the crown on the south side. This would bring the number of figures, originally, up to 40. Two of these vacant spaces are where the panelling would be fixed at the back of the Throne, and the figures were probably removed to make way for this; the other is in the inner-angle at the north-west corner. Dr. Cowper only speaks of thirty figures; whether the other five are modern, or old ones recovered, I cannot say.

Only three figures, all on the north side, have heads, each being bearded, and wearing a crown. Two of these are in the centre between the arches. In one case the crown remains, but the head has gone;¹ and this figure, at the north-east corner, is holding a staff; whilst next but one to it, and further east, is a figure also holding a staff, and with traces of a crown having been attached to the masonry above. I suggest, with some

¹ A closer examination, and the photograph by MR. NEWSTEAD, seems to show that the crown is really a mitre, and may confirm the suggestion that the figure represents Ethelred. The figure is No. 16 on the plan.

Chester Cathedral

North-east Corner of the Crown of the Shrine

R. Newstead, Photo.

diffidence, that these *may* represent Ethelred and Cened, both Kings of Mercia, who resigned the crown for the cowl, and became monks.

Much of the gilding seems comparatively modern, and, as has been already said, if the lettering was ever cut on the labels, the incisions have been filled in with plaster or other material, as the surfaces of the labels are now quite smooth.

On the top are holes for dowels, where the pinnacles have been secured. The appearance of the crown suggests that there must have been pinnacles, originally, at the corners, and not only when Canon Slade reconstructed the throne.

I have detained you already too long a time; I only hope I have not wearied you, but that I may (with some at any rate) have increased your interest in this beautiful relic of the past, and in the Saint whose name it bears. Much of her life may be shadowy, and obscured by legend and fable, but enough remains to illustrate and hand down to posterity the character of a saintly, strong, unselfish woman, who used in the service of her Master the talents entrusted to her. We, her descendants and successors in the same faith, cannot do better than follow her favourite precept and common saying: "Please God and love Him, and doubt not anything."



George Lloyd, D.D., Bishop of Chester
1605-1616

BY THE REV. F. SANDERS, M.A., F.S.A.

(Read 24th February, 1903)

GEORGE LLOYD was the sixth of the seven sons of Meredith ap John of Llanelian-yn-Rhos, in Denbighshire. Llanelian is a village $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Conway, and is celebrated for an old Parish Church and a Cursing Well. The family of Lloyd claimed to be of high antiquity. Meredith Lloyd deduced his descent from Griffith, youngest son of the celebrated Ednyfed Vychan, the trusted counsellor of Llewelyn ap Iorweth, who played a conspicuous part in the negotiations between England and Wales in the time of Henry III. In legendary history Ednyfed is very famous, and stories are told how he slew three English chiefs in a hard fight, and was, consequently, allowed by Llewelyn to bear as his arms "three Englishmen's heads couped." He is still more famous with the genealogists. Himself of noble descent, he became the ancestor of many leading Welsh families, and among them of the house of Tudor. The first wife of Ednyfed was Gwenllïan, daughter of Rhys ap Griffith, Prince of South Wales, and it was from this marriage that the Lloyds boasted their origin. They, therefore, belonged to one of the fifteen tribes

of North Wales, which play so important a part in Cambrian genealogies. The wife of Meredith was Janet, daughter of Hugh Conway, whose pedigree was as long as that of her husband.

On the death of Meredith Lloyd, his eldest son Rowland succeeded to the family estate, his younger brothers having been scattered abroad to seek their livelihood. At that period it was not thought derogatory for the younger sons of gentle families to be apprenticed to trades. Accordingly, we find the second, third, and fourth brothers, David, Morgan, and Edward, embarked in commercial careers. David prospered and became Mayor of Chester in 1593. He married, first, Alice daughter of Adam Goodman, of Chester; and second, Alice¹ daughter of Richard Bavand, Alderman of Chester. The next brother, Morgan, seems also to have been successful, at any rate he became Mayor of Beaumaris; Edward, the fourth brother, a mercer in this city, was drowned, leaving no issue. The fifth brother, William, lived abroad; he may have been the wild adventurous member of what was evidently a steady family. Of the youngest brother, John, I can find no particulars. The subject of this Paper was born in or about 1560, almost at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. He is said to have received his early education in Wales, and then to have proceeded to Cambridge; but an important step in his educational progress has been omitted. From June 1575, to September 1579, he was a King's Scholar at Chester. It is easy to imagine how he came to our city. His brother David is getting on in business and rapidly rising in importance in the place. The young George is developing

¹ She afterwards married, successively, Thomas Gamul and Edward Whitby, both Recorders of Chester.

scholarly tastes; the church may surely claim one brother out of seven. And so the future Bishop is packed off to Chester, finds a home in his brother's house, and receives his erudition in the school attached to the Cathedral, in which he was afterwards to be enthroned.

Lloyd proceeded from Chester to Cambridge, where he matriculated at Jesus College, 1st October, 1579. His surname appears in the University Register as Floyd or Fludd. He took his B.A. degree in 1582, and his M.A. in 1585, as a Fellow of Magdalene. He was, no doubt, ordained before the latter date, but he did not become a B.D. till 1593.

It is not surprising that, on leaving Cambridge, Lloyd soon found his way back to Chester, where his family influence could stand him in good stead. Anyhow, he obtained the position of Divinity Lecturer in the Cathedral (an office created in 1582, when Queen Elizabeth succeeded in wresting £150 a year from the spoilers of the Dean and Chapter, and restored it to its proper owners). The Divinity Lecturer was bound to give two prelections weekly, for which he received a stipend of £40. The date of Lloyd's appointment to this position does not seem to be known; but I strongly suspect that it was in 1594, in succession to the Rev. Thomas Hutchins. A very interesting note on the death of Mr. Hutchins, and the application of Mr. Christopher Harvey for the vacant post, was written by the late Mr. J. P. Earwaker, and will be found in No. 1 of the Second Series of the *Cheshire Sheaf*. Lloyd probably held the Divinity Lectureship for some years.

According to Tanner, Lloyd was presented, in 1596, to the Rectory of Llanrwst, by Lord Keeper Egerton. During what years he held this living, I do not know.

In 1597 he was appointed Rector of Heswall, and he appears, from certain entries in the Registers of that Parish, to have resided there some years :

“9 October, 1599. John Lloyd, filius Docter Lloid (baptised).”

“1 May, 1604. Edward Lloid (baptised).”

“19 June, 1607. Henrye lloid, sonne to the Right Reverend Father in God George Byshope of Cester (buried).”

The last entry seems to show that Lloyd retained the Rectory of Heswall *in commendam* with his Bishopric.

In some books Lloyd is said to have been presented with the Rectory of Halsall, in Lancashire, about this time. I suspect that Halsall is a mistake for Heswall.

On the death of John Meyrick (another Welshman) in 1599, Doctor Lloyd (he became a Doctor of Divinity in 1598) was chosen to succeed him as Bishop of Sodor and Man. He was, presumably, nominated by William, Earl of Derby (the Lord of Man), who was, I think, closely connected with Chester. But the State papers make no mention of the Earl's nomination, and are so worded as to convey the impression that the Queen herself presented Lloyd to the Bishopric. If this were the case, it looks like a decided encroachment on the Earl's rights, as the original grant of the island to Sir John Stanley conveys the patronage of the See absolutely, without any mention even of approval by the Crown of England. Elizabeth's presentation was accompanied by a request to the Archbishop of York to confirm and consecrate the Bishop-designate.

A curious letter from Lloyd to the Archbishop, on the subject of his consecration, is found in Archbishop Hutton's correspondence :—

“My moste humble dutie remembred unto your Grace. My verie good Lord, the Bishopricke of Manne being bestowed by her Highness' gracious favor upon me, though unworthie, I

had in purpose, accordinge to my dutie, to have attended your Grace upon this occasion ; but fyndinge my bodye weake by reason of my late travill from London, and my purse emptyed with long sute there, I was told by this messenger to acquaint your Grace therewith, and to understand by him your pleasure for my consecration, according to the teanor of my letters patents ; wherein, as my very good Lord, the Bishop of Chester,¹ hath by his letters solicited your Grace for your honourable favor and respect of my poore estate, so do I humblie pray your Grace that you wold be pleased to give me as much ease, both for travill and expence, as you may, considering the smallness of the Bishopricke, and tyme of the yeare unpleasante for me and moste of all for my Lords, the Bishops of the province to attend you for this necessary ymployment. In which respects my most humble request that your Grace will be pleased to grant your commission to my Lord of Chester, to authorise him to joyne with twoe other Bishoppes near unto him (of whose voluntary readiness I doubt not) for the performinge of this action. And so, recommending myself now and alwaies to your Grace's good favor and honorable supporte in that poor place, wishinge your Grace's long continewance in all health and happyness, I humblie take my leave. Chester, this iiijth of January, 1599.²

Your Grace's in all humility to command,

GEORG. FLOYD.

To the moste Rev. Father in God, my verie good Lord, the Lord Archbishop of York, his Grace, give these."

The result of Lloyd's request is unknown, as the records of his consecration are missing. He was, probably, consecrated in the spring of 1600, and at Chester. If so, we see another special reason for his name being remembered in Chester. It is useless to speculate as to the two Bishops who joined with Vaughan in hallowing him. Proximity suggests the two North Wales prelates, Hughes of St. Asaph and Rowlands of Bangor. If so, consecrators and consecrated were all alike Welshmen.

¹ Richard Vaughan.

² 1600, new style.

Lloyd would, naturally, at once proceed from the Port of Chester to his island bishopric, to be enthroned in the Cathedral of St. German, which was not yet in ruins. But the pastoral oversight of the See of Man was no enviable post in the 17th century, and none of Wilson's predecessors seem to have been sharers of his devoted spirit. The island was spoken of as "a place of banishment"; "a melancholy retreat"; "a Patmos"; "a disconsolate residence." The episcopal income, moreover, was miserably inadequate. It was, therefore, customary for the Bishops to spend most of their time in England, often rendering help to some infirm or overworked brother there. Meyrick, Lloyd's predecessor, writing to Burghley in 1590, says:—

"I came the last summer to Wales; having been the year afore in Man, as I am commonly between both, not of my own choice or will; but things are so. Neither hath any Bishop, my predecessor, been otherwise this hundred years. My living is but 80lb., wherewith I travail by sea and by land."

The only trace of Bishop Lloyd in the ecclesiastical records of Man is that he presided in 1603 at a Consistory Court, when several offenders against the spiritual law received punishment. He was, doubtless, glad when in 1604, on the translation of Bishop Vaughan to London, James I. nominated him to succeed that prelate at Chester.

The *congé d'élire* for Lloyd's election is dated 18th December, 1604, and the Royal assent was given 5th January, 1605. He was confirmed on the 14th of the same month, and paid his First Fruits on 30th September.

Lloyd had not been long at Chester when his eldest brother, Rowland, died early in 1606. He was buried in the Cathedral.

In the first year of Lloyd's rule at Chester the whole country was thrown into a state of wild excitement by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. This led to a renewed and strict enforcement of all the laws against Popish recusants. Through the indiscreet zeal of a few fanatics the whole body of loyal Roman Catholics cruelly suffered. Heavy fines were levied upon them. They were forbidden either to educate their children at home, or to send them to any foreign school. Their houses were liable to visitations by the officers of the law, and their goods and books to confiscation. Yet, as is invariably the case, all this persecution failed to bring about the desired result. The Romanists of Lancashire and Cheshire remained unshaken in their old beliefs.

References to the dealings of Lloyd with some of the Roman Catholics of his Diocese are found in the following State Papers.

In a letter from the Council to Lloyd, dated 24th October, 1608, with respect to his stay of proceedings against the recusants, the Bishop is informed that the King does not wish these proceedings to be stopped altogether, but to be used with moderation, and only against obstinate persons.

In a letter dated 20th November, 1613, it is mentioned that the Bishop of Chester has sealed up and inventoried the goods of Anderton, a deceased recusant; but that his goods cannot lawfully be sequestered before conviction. A later paper gives an inventory of these books.

In April 1615, only a few months before his death, the Bishop enquires how he is to proceed with certain Roman Catholics who refuse to be bound for the revocation of their children from foreign seminaries.

Towards the Puritans, who were daily growing in power, the Bishop acted with great mildness, and his dealings with them were afterwards contrasted with the more vigorous conduct of his successors, Morton and Bridgeman. He suffered Nicholas Byfield, a powerful Puritan preacher and writer, to remain several years at St. Peter's, Chester; and the Nonconformist Clergymen were allowed to preach without molestation. It must be remembered, however, that the word Nonconformist did not at that time mean Dissenter. A Nonconformist was a member of the Church who refused to conform to certain ceremonies prescribed by the Prayer Book, principally the use of the surplice; the sign of the cross after Baptism; and kneeling at the reception of Holy Communion. They were, therefore, quite distinct from the Separatists, as Dissenters were then called.

In 1606 Lloyd was obliged to interfere in an unseemly quarrel which broke out between the Cathedral and Civic authorities, with respect to certain rights claimed by the latter. A full account of this quarrel will be found in a Paper read before your Society by the late Mr. T. Hughes, in 1874, entitled, "The City against the Abbey; Disputes between the Corporation and Cathedral authorities of Chester." This Paper appears in Vol. III. of the Journal (Old Series). It will suffice to say here that it had been the ancient custom of the Mayor and Corporation to attend Divine Service at the Cathedral on certain days with the City Sword *erect*, point upwards, in front of the Mayor; a right of entrance by the west door was, moreover, claimed. On 13th January, 1606, on the occasion of a visit of the Mayor and Corporation, one of the Prebendaries, Peter Sharp, "put down" the sword; and on the Feast of the Purification, in 1607, another, named Roger Ravenscroft, shut the west door

The Civic authorities, hereupon, sent a protest to the Lord Chancellor, who, in due course, sent two judges to Chester to investigate the matter. By their award the claims of the Corporation were maintained. In this award occurs the following passage :—

“ And wee have alsoe seene and perused an order made in the said Cause, sithence the said swoorde put downe and church doore shut, as aforesaid, by the right Rev'ende father in god, GEORGE, lo Bushoppe of CHESTER, and others the King's Ma'ties Commissioners in Causes Eccles'iall for appeasing of the said controu'sies, to p'vente further troubles, disorders, and breaches of the peace, in or towchinge the said Cause.

“ Therefore, and to that ende that unitie, love, and peace betweene the said Maior and Cittizens, Prebendaries, and others the members of the said Church, maie be kepte and p'served, and that all occasions of further disturbance, or misdemenor to be hereafter attempted or Committed maie be staied and p'vented for the tyme to come, We doe order that the said Maior and citizens, and their successors at all times hereafter, shall freelie and quietlie passe and repasse and goe through the said great west church doore into the said Church, at the tyme of anie funerall or attendance upon anie dead corps to be buried in the same church.

“ And we doe furthermore strictly order that when, and as often as, the Maior of the same citie for the tyme beinge shall hereafter repaier to the said Church for the heringe of divine Service or Sermon, or upon anie other juste occasion, havinge his Swoorde carried before him in the said church or p'cintes or lib'ties of the same, That then and soe often, neither the said Prebendaries, nor anie other officer or Minister of the said Church shall by themselves or anie other by themselves or anie other by their or anie of their means, Concente, or p'curement, stoppe, staie, or hinder the said Maior, or his swoorde-bearer, or either of them in or for the carryinge up of the said swoorde, in the said Church at anie tyme hereafter; but shall p'mitte and Suffeir the said Maier and sword-bearer quietlie to carrie the swoorde of the said Citie, with the pointe upp, in the said Church, as heretofore hath been used and accustomed, &c., &c.”

Among the Harleian MSS. is a document, dated 1608, which refers to a tax falling exclusively on the Clergy. As they were exempted by their sacred calling from bearing arms in time of danger, they were required to furnish, in lieu of personal service, the whole or part of the equipment of a soldier. In the year in question, when insurrection prevailed among the people, to prevent the country from being depopulated by letting land go out of tillage into pasturage, a rate was imposed by Lloyd upon his Clergy in Cheshire and Lancashire. The poorer incumbents were only called upon to furnish a caliver, or a musket "furnished"; but holders of rich benefices had larger demands made upon them. Thus, the Rector of Wigan had to supply "a light horse furnished"; and his brother of Halsall "a corslett furnished."

There is an interesting contemporary notice of the Bishop in a work of Sir John Harington, who undertook some part of the education of Henry Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I. By way of instructing his pupil in his future duties, and counteracting the influence of the Puritans on his mind, Harington recommended to him the work of Bishop Godwin, "*De Præsulibus Angliæ*," which had been published in 1601; and, to make it more interesting, he appended to it some remarks of his own upon the characters of the Elizabethan Bishops. This document is full of gossip, and contains many good stories and much shrewd observation. It was written for the private use of the Prince, and was not printed till more than forty years after the writer's death, when it was brought out in 1653, by his grandson John Chetwind, under the title:—"A briefe View of the State of the Church of England, as it stood in Q. Elizabeth's and King James his Reigne, to the yeere 1608, Being a Character and History of the Bishops of

those times. And may serve as an additional supply to Doctor Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops, Written for the private use of Prince Henry, upon occasion of that Proverb—

*Henry the Eighth pulled down Monks and their Cells,
Henry the Ninth should pull down Bishops and their
Bells;*

*by Sir John Harrington, of Kelston, neer Bath, Knight.
London: Printed for Jos. Kirton, at the King's Arms in
Paul's Churchyard. 1653."*

In this book Lloyd is thus referred to, as follows:—

"Of CHESTER; and the present Bishop, Dr. *Flood*.

"Of this new Bishopricke, and new Lord Bishop also I have very little to say, and I need say the lesse, because your Highnesse hath heard him Preach often, and very well; I call him a new Lord Bishop, because though he were a Bishop before, yet was he not thereby a Lord of the Parliament House; howbeit his Title before sounded to the vulgar ears more universall than either *Rome* or *Constantinople*, namely, Bishop of *Man*; but from thence he was translated to *Chester* the chiefe City of that Shire, that some call chiefe of men, which Shire having a speciall temporall blessing (to abound) not with milke and honey, as the Land of *Promise*, but with milke and salt, a matter more necessary in sacrifice; I wish it may also flow in spirituall blessings, and doubt not but that by the irrigation rather than inundation of this Flood they shall encrease in them; and as our Saviour commands to joyne peace with salt, and especially I wish that blessing to their Neighbours beyond the salt water, I meane in *Ireland*, who though they have milke, and are so weake in faith they cannot yet digest hard meat, yet for want of this salt and peace, they make many goe of Pilgrimage to *Westchester* against their wills from both Realmes, some of whom the Bishop of *Chester* was wont to entertaine in kinde sort, as my selfe can testifie; and this Bishop I heare doth herein succeed also his worthy Predecesser Doctor *Vaughan*."

The Bishopric of Chester was at this period very inadequately endowed. It was, therefore, customary for

the Bishop to hold one or more livings *in commendam*, to enable him to ensure a sufficient income. Thus, Lloyd held the Rectory of Heswall till 1613, when he resigned it on obtaining that of Bangor Iscoed. In addition to this he became also Rector of Thornton-le-Moors. I cannot ascertain the exact date of his entering on this charge, but I expect that it was in 1607, the year in which the Will of William Seaborne (his predecessor) was proved. The Bishop seems to have made Thornton his residence. This was, doubtless, on account of its nearness to Chester, which the prevalence of the plague, during a great part of Lloyd's episcopate, rendered a dangerous abode.

In 1613 the Bishop preached the sermon at the funeral, at St. Mary's, of Mr. Thomas Gamul, Recorder of Chester, "which was performed by a great multitude of people."

Lloyd died at the Rectory House of Thornton-le-Moors, 1st August, 1615, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried privately, in the Choir of his Cathedral, near Bishop Downham. Mr. Thomas Shute, his lordship's domestic chaplain, according to the custom of the time, preached his funeral sermon in the Cathedral the Sunday following his death.

According to Browne Willis, the Bishop was of a most amiable and lovely countenance, and of a mild and righteous nature. King James I. called him "the Beauty of Holiness." He was liberal to his friends; merciful to the poor; and died in the prime of life, being much lamented by all.

In memory of the Bishop an alabaster stone was placed in the Cathedral, with a brass plate bearing a Latin inscription. Both stone and plate have long

since disappeared, but the inscription has been preserved. It ran as follows:—

“*Immatura mors hoc conclusit sepulcro cor Georgii Lloyd, cujus memoriam reveretur Cestria. Nazione fuit Camber, educatione Cantabr., theologiae doctor, theologorum ductor. Soderensi praefuit et profuit Episcopatus quinquenio praefectus pacto. Mater Anglia repetiit prolem et dignata est sinu Episcopatus Cestrensis, ubi undecim messibus non sine procellis dolorum elapsis, quinquagesimo aetatis suae anno, et primo die mensis Augusti anno Domini 1615, lacrimatus, lacrimandus obiit. Nec pudet vitae, nec piget mortis.*”

In the Lansdowne MSS. 879, in the British Museum, is a pedigree of the Lloyd family, by which it appears that the Bishop married Anne daughter of John Wilkinson, of Norwich, by whom he had a large family. The following children attained to maturity:—

- (1) David, married Mary Gerrard;
- (2) John, baptised at Heswall, 1599;
- (3) Edward, baptised at Heswall, 1604.
- (1) Anne, married (*a*) Thomas Yale, son of Dr. David Yale; (*b*) Theophilus Eaton;
- (2) Mary, married (*a*) John Bruen; (*b*) — Paget;
- (3) Alice, died unmarried 1631.

Other children of the marriage appear, by the Heswall Register, to have died in their infancy.

Mrs. Lloyd long survived her husband, living till after the siege of Chester. The following is a summary of her Will:—

“1640-8. In the Name of God, Amen. [4 Nov. 1640]. Anne Lloyd of City of Chester widow, sick, &c. My bodie to be buried in the Quier of the Cathetherall [*sic*] Church of Chester where my loueing husband George Lloyd late Buishop of Chester aforesaid was interred or as neere to the place as may be.

To sonne David Lloyd 30^{li} and my great Bible.

To daughter Eaton xx^s.

To sonne Edward Lloyd, if he be liveing, 30^{li}.

To sonne Paggett xx^s.

To daughter Marie Paggett 40^{li} and to her two children which she had by Mr. Bruin 40^{li} that is 20^{li} a piece and to the two children she hath by her now husband Mr. Paggett 5^{li} a piece.

To my loveinge cosen Francis Gammell Esquire xx^s.

To my God-daughter Alice Gammell his daughter my best piece of plate, and to my cosen Francis Gammell's eldest daughter my presse.

To cosen Mrs. Jane Wright xl^s. and her sister Mrs. Eliner Mynshall xl^s.

I leave two black gownes to twelve poore widdowes.

Codicil—4 Nov^r 1640.

To Jane Plimley my cosen xx^s.

Exors: Francis Gammell and Mrs. Jane Wright.

Witnesses

Wm. Heald

Anne Lloyd

Wm. Plimley

Her mark.

Proved 8 Jan. 1648-9

by Jane Wright Exor. John Wright
(power reserved)."

Endorsed: "Mrs. Lloyd's Will."

The Will of David Lloyd, the Bishop's eldest son, was proved in 1672.

John Lloyd was dead in 1649, as will be seen by the extract from Gastrell given below.

Much interest attaches to the Bishop's eldest daughter Anne, on account of her successive marriage to two men whose names are of note in the early colonisation of America. Her first husband, Thomas Yale, was the grandfather of Governor Elihu Yale, from whom Yale College received its name. Her second husband, Theophilus Eaton, a native of Stoney Stratford, went, in

1637, to Boston, in America, and founded, in 1639, the settlement of New Haven, of which he was Governor till his death in 1658. Descendants of Governor Eaton and his wife are still in existence in America.

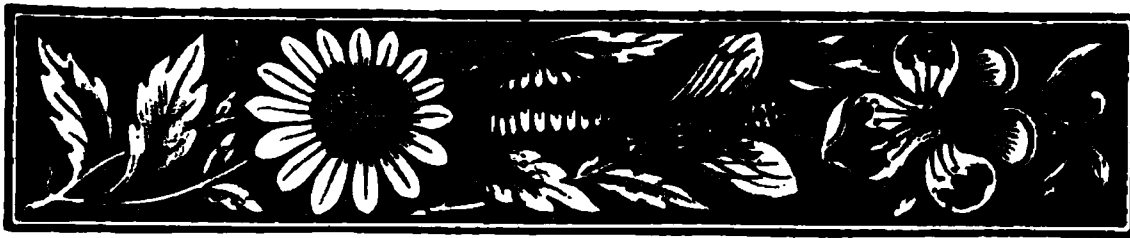
Alice Lloyd, the youngest daughter, predeceased her mother, dying 28th June, 1631. She was buried at St. Mary's-on-the-Hill. The Arms (in a lozenge) on her funeral certificate are, "Gules, a chevron between three mullets Or." In the *Blazon of Episcopacy*, the Bishop's Arms are given as "Sable, three horses' heads coupéd Argent."

The house in Watergate Street, known as "Bishop Lloyd's Palace," can scarcely have been occupied by our prelate. He had an episcopal residence on the site of the present King's School, and could not have needed another in the city, especially in such a position as Watergate Street. The house in question was, probably, the family residence of the Lloyd family, and may have been occupied by one or other of the Bishop's brothers. The date 1615, on the front, is that of his death; and the Arms of the See of Man are also in evidence.

In Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia*, page 169, occurs the following:—

"Shotwick, in the Deanery of Wirhall. The rectory was granted by Leave of the Dean and Chapter, dated 30 Nov., 1608, to Mr. Henry Wilkinson (probably Mrs. Lloyd's brother) for three lives, viz.: Anne, wife of George Lloyd, Bishop of Chester, and David and John, sons of the said Bishop, paying £3 os. 2d. per ann. for the corn tythe. David Lloyd was the only life in being in 1649."





Ten Early Chester Deeds, 1270-1490

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BY HENRY TAYLOR, F.S.A.

(Read 24th March, 1903)

IN 1888, 1890, 1895, and 1896, I exhibited and described a number of Early Deeds relating to property in Chester and the neighbourhood, which have been printed in Vols. II., III., V., and VI. of the New Series of the Proceedings of our Society; and I have been told by friends that those documents have been found useful as historical evidence on subjects relating to Chester and Cheshire history and genealogy. I have, therefore, been prompted to exhibit this evening ten more of these Deeds, and to give you some short description of the parties to them; of the properties transferred by them; and of the witnesses who were present when they were executed.

Dr. Stolterfoth has very kindly photographed the set, and has made slides, so that I shall be able, with the assistance of Mr. Siddall, to show these photographs on the screen.

They are all written in the abbreviated law Latin of the period, and relate to properties situated in the City: in Eastgate Street, Foregate Street, Fleshmonger Lane (now Newgate Street), Northgate Street, Watergate Street, and in Cuppin Street. Some of them are

undated, but as the Mayor and Sheriffs of the time are witnesses, we are able to fix their approximate date. The earliest was executed about 1270, in the reign of Henry III.; and the latest in 1490, in the reign of Henry VII.

The parties to them were leading citizens of the time, and the witnesses were in the same position of life; either the Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being, or others who had filled those or other important civic offices.

In those early days few could write, and, therefore, they affixed their seals in the presence of the witnesses, frequently in the City Court; the scribe who wrote out the documents adding the names of the witnesses at the end of the instrument, and, in the later ones, giving the date or regnal year.

The following is a translation of the first Deed :—

To all the faithful people of Christ who shall see or hear this present writing, Nicholas called Great [*dcs magnus*] sends greeting in the Lord everlasting.

Be it known that I and my heirs stand firmly bound by this present writing to pay to John de Stanlow, son of Thurstan de Stanlow, and his heirs, five shillings of silver at four terms of the year for certain land of his in "Forgatestrete" of the City of Chester, as it is contained in the charter which the said John has of the same land.

These being witnesses, John Arnewey Mayor of Chester, Matthew de Derisbury and William Cofin [?] Sheriffs of Chester, Robert Harre, John Meyler, Richard de Wych, Walter the Chaplain, and many others.

[Not dated].

In my Paper in Volume III. (New Series), on "Some Mediæval Chester Goldsmiths," the names of Matthew, Nicholas his son, and John, are each described as gold-

Bond by Nicholas called the Great,

to pay to John de Stanlow five shillings in silver at four terms of the year for certain land of his in Foregate Street Chester as was contained in the charter which the same John had of the same land. Witnessed by JOHN AENESEY Mayor of Chester, Matthew de Derinbury and William Cofin Sheriffs of Chester, and others. [Not dated, but circa 1270].

nances which I have of the demise of Julian de Euesham, together with the oven adjoining which I hold insecurely [*de infirmis*] of But'ton in "Estgatestrete" of the City of Chester, and in one messuage with the appurtenances which I purchased of Margery de Dereby in "Estgatestrete" of the same city, and in one other messuage with the appurtenances and a cellar which I bought of Nicholas son of Bertram the Goldsmith in "Estgatestrete" of the city aforesaid, and in one messuage with the appurtenances in "fforgatestrete" of the city aforesaid, lying between the land of Richard the Clerk, of Chester, on the one part, and the lane called Coulone on the other part. And in 7s. yearly rent to be received of Beatrice le Lokkere and her heirs for a certain place of land which she holds of me in the said lane of Coulone, the which messuages and yearly rent I have of the demise of the aforesaid Nicholas called the Goldsmith. Ratifying and confirming what the said Richard shall do in my name in the premises. In testimony of which thing I have caused these letters to be made patent by the impression of my seal.

These being witnesses, Alexander Hurel Mayor of Chester, Robert de Teruen, Roger Donfoul, Robert Ythel, John Donfoul, and others.

Given at Chester on Thursday next before the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, 28 Edward I.

William de Doncaster was the Mayor for the years 1316-17-18-19, referred to in my Paper of 1888.

Richard Candelan was Sheriff of Chester 1298-1300-5.

Both Adam de Doncaster and Juliana de Evesham are referred to in my Paper of 1888; and reference is made to the oven of St. Giles, abutting on to Eastgate Street, and not far from the Monastery of St. Werburgh. Margerie de Dereby I also mention in that Paper. The cellar would be the crypt of the house.

Nicholas son of Bertram the Goldsmith, I suggest would be a grandson of Nicholas who is called "the Great" in the last Deed. It will be observed that

Frodsham Street is here referred to by its ancient name of Cow Lane. I shall refer to the surname Loker later on.

Of the witnesses, Alexander Hurell was Sheriff in 1281-3-4-94; and Mayor 1282-97, and for the year in question, 1300. The surname Dunfoul is said to be synonymous with that of Domville. The Domville family had a considerable property in Wirral.

The Third Deed is translated thus :—

Know all men present and to come that I, Wenthlyan de Bikirton, in my pure viduity have given granted and by this my present charter confirmed to William son of William de Doncastr and Alice his wife, all my land lying in breadth between the land which was William de Gloucester's on the one part, and the land which was John Marescall's on the other part, in the lane of St. John the Baptist in the City of Chester, and extending in length from the said lane as far as the land which was Henry de Thelewall's, the which land Philip my son had of the gift and grant of William de Doncastr, senior, and bequeathed the same to me in his testament.

To have and to hold to the said William and Alice and their heirs or assigns, of the chief lords of the fee by the service therefor due and accustomed, freely, quietly, well and in peace.

These being witnesses, Hugh de Brichull Mayor of Chester, William the Clerk and Henry de Blakerode Sheriffs of Chester, Alexander Hurel, William de Dancastr, senior, Robert de Maclisfeld, Richard Candelan, Geoffrey de Teruin, Richard le Mercer, Clerk, and others.

[Not dated].

Wenthlyan is the English scribes orthography for the old Welsh female christian name "Gwenllian."

There is an entry on the Cheshire Recognizance Rolls which, I think, throws light on this Deed, and also

gives us some information respecting the Bickerton family and its connection with that of the early Chester families of David the Miller and of that of Doncaster, both of whom held high municipal office. The entry is: "1307. Charter of Philip son of William de Bickerton, dated Monday before the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 1 Edw. II., granting all his lands and tenements in Bache and Newton, which he inherited on the death of his kinsman David called the Miller, citizen of Chester, to William of Donecastre, in exchange for one burgage in St. John's Lane, Chester, situated between the land which belonged to William de Gloverina and that which belonged to Thomas le Mareschal. Witnesses, Lord William de Orresby Justice of Chester, Ralph de Vernon, John de Arden, John de Orreby and ¹Robert de Pulford Knights, Ralph son of Ralph de Vernon, Richard de Fouleshurst, William Gerrard, John de Legh, Robert de Bebyngton, William de Lasceles, and Fulk de Moeles." David the Miller was Sheriff in 1290 or 1293, as shewn by the Deed mentioned in my Paper of 1888. There was a blank in Ormerod's list of Sheriffs for those two years, which that Deed assisted in filling.

The witnesses to the Deed named in this entry were leading county people near to Chester. Those to the one I now exhibit were leading citizens.

Hugh de Brickhull was fourteen times Mayor of Chester.

The Deed is undated, but Ormerod gives for 1303, Hugh de Brickhull Mayor, Henry de Blackrode and W. Fitz Peter de Bricland Sheriffs. This latter, I take it, is the "William the Clerk" of the Deed.

¹ Robert de Pulford married Agnes daughter of Richard Lengenour.

The following is the translation of Deed No. 4 :—

Know all men present and to come that I, Margerie daughter of Henry de Bostok formerly citizen of Chester, have given granted and by this my present charter confirmed to William de Donecastre, citizen of Chester, all my land with the appurtenances in “fflesmongerlone” of the City of Chester, lying in breadth between the land of Hugh son of Robert le Proude-mercer, on the one part, and the land of Alice de la More, my sister, on the other part, and extending in length from the king’s street of “fflesmongerelone” aforesaid, as far as the garden of Hugh de Brichull.

To have and to hold to the said William de Donecastre, and his heirs or assigns, of Roger Dunfoull and his heirs, freely and quietly for ever, Yielding therefor yearly to the aforesaid Roger and his heirs or assigns, 4s. of silver at four yearly terms by equal portions.

Moreover, for this gift and grant the said William de Donecastre hath given to me by hand 6os. of silver.

These being witnesses, Richard len Genour Mayor of Chester, Benedict de Stanton, John de Warwyk Sheriffs of the same place, Hugh de Brichull, Alexander Hurel, Roger Donfoull, Robert de Maclisfeld, Robert le Spicer, William de Waterfall, Reginald de Lene, Gilbert Dunfoull, and others.

[Not dated].

Fleshmonger Lane is the Newgate Street of to-day.

This Deed shows us that Hugh de Brickhull lived in or near to Newgate Street, as a former Deed showed us Richard the Engineer lived in Watergate Street.

Mr. Fergusson Irvine mentioned the name Proud-Mercer in describing the Aston Deeds. Here we have it again.

All the witnesses have been mentioned before, and their names will be found on the Municipal Roll.

Richard the Engineer and Architect, as this Deed shows, was Mayor. He was the founder of the Belgrave family. His daughter and heiress brought the Belgrave estate, by her marriage to Robert de Pulford or Eaton, into that family, and their descendant, Joan, passed it on to her descendants, the Grosvenors. Richard was lessee of the Dee Mills and Fishery from the Earl. He rebuilt both the mills and weir. He repaired and added to both St. Werburgh's Abbey and Rhuddlan Castle. He built Flint Castle for King Edward the First, and was with him at Carnarvon.

The fifth Deed translated runs thus :—

Know all men present and to come that I, William de Donecastre, citizen of Chester, have given granted and by this my present charter confirmed to William de Donecastr my son and Alice his wife, the moiety of one messuage with its appurtenances in "Watergatestrete" of the City of Chester, the which moiety lies in breadth between the Church of the Blessed Peter on the one part, and the land which belonged to Hugh de Brichulle and Marie his wife on the other part, and extending in length from the king's street in "Watergatestrete" as far as to my land.

To have and to hold to the aforesaid William and Alice and their heirs or assigns, of the chief lords of the fee by the service therefor due and accustomed, freely and quietly for ever.

These being witnesses, Hugh de Brichull Mayor of Chester, William the son, Peter the Clerk, Robert de Macclesfelde Sheriff of Chester, Alexander Hurel, Richard Candelan, John Blund, Richard Rossel, Benedict de Stanton, William de Waterfal, John the Clerk, and others.

Given at Chester.

[Not dated].

This Deed is undated, but I find the three first witnesses held office together in 1307.

There is little to note in it, except as to the position of the house named, being next to St. Peter's Church on the Watergate Street side.

I rather gather that the Doncasters lived in this part of Chester, which is the very centre of the City.

All the witnesses have been mentioned before.

The following is a translation of Deed No. 6 :—

To all the faithful people of Christ who shall see or hear this present writing Nicholas son and heir of Richard de Tyddinham sends greeting in the Lord everlasting.

Be it known that I have remised, released, and absolutely for me and my heirs for ever quitclaimed to Richard son and heir of Symon le Barker, formerly citizen of Chester, his heirs and assigns, all my right and claim in those two messuages with the appurtenances lying together in "Norgatestrete" in the City of Chester, viz., between the land of William de Doncastr the younger and Alice his wife on the one part and the land which belonged to John de Brichull on the other part, and extending from the king's street of "Norgatestrete" aforesaid in length as far as the land of Richard Russell. With clause of warranty.

These being witnesses, Richard de Wheteley Mayor of Chester, John Bars and Madock de Capunhurst Sheriffs of Chester, Roger Blound, Thomas de Strangewas, Thomas de Diddisbury, Thomas de Heghgreue, Adam del Wode, Robert de Hulton, Richard the Clerk, and others.

Given at Chester on Friday next after the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1333.

I do not find the surnames Tyddenham and Barker on the City Rolls; but on the County Recognizance Rolls there is an entry, in 1324, of a Recognizance entered into by Simon le Barker with the Earl of Chester for 100/-. Richard Russell was Mayor in 1324. Richard de Wheteley, otherwise Wheatley or Whitley, the Mayor,

had previously filled the office of Sheriff nine times. All the other witnesses were well-known citizens. Roger Blaund succeeded Wheteley as Mayor the following year.

This is the first Deed which gives the Anno Domini instead of the Anno Regni Regis.

The following is a translation of Deed No. 7:—

This Indenture witnesseth that I, Jordan, parson of the Church of St. Peter in Chester, have granted, surrendered, and demised to Richard Payn, chaplain, son of Henry le Cotiler of Chester, all those lands and tenements with the appurtenances in "Northgatestrete" of the City of Chester, of which the aforesaid Richard by his charter enfeoffed me, as in his charter is fully contained and limited.

To have and to hold to the aforesaid Richard for his life by the service of one rose per annum, and performing for me and my heirs to the chief lords of the fee the service therefor due and of right accustomed, with reversion to me the aforesaid Jordan.

These being witnesses, Richard de Wheteley Mayor of Chester, Madock de Capenhurst and John Bars Sheriffs of Chester, Henry Wade, Robert de Hulton, Henry the Clerk, and others.

Given at Chester the 20 Sept., 8 Edward III. [1334].

The grantor was Jordan de Marthale, who was presented to the living of St. Peter's by the Abbot of St. Werburgh, 5th August, 1320.

The witness Richard de Wheteley was Sheriff in 1309-11-14-15-18-21-22 and 24; and Mayor in 1333 and 1334. I am inclined to think, from other documents, that he or his family lived in Northgate Street; as did also the Payn family. Madoc de Capenhurst is mentioned in my previous Papers. He was Sheriff in 1327-9-32-3-7-41-2 and 4.

Deed No. 8 runs thus :—

This Indenture made between James del Hope, citizen of the City of Chester, on the one part, and Richard Smyth, citizen of the City of Chester, on the other part, witnesseth that the aforesaid James hath granted and to farm let to the aforesaid Richard, one messuage with its appurtenances in "Estegatestrete" of the City of Chester, lying between the land of the aforesaid James on the one part, and the land of St. Anne on the other part, and extending in length from the king's street of "Estegatestrete" aforesaid as far as the land of John Bromley Knight.

To have and to hold to the said Richard his heirs and assigns from the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord next coming to the end of the term of twenty years, at the yearly rent of 6s. 8d. With clause of warranty.

These being witnesses, William Lely Mayor of the City of Chester, William Rauson and William Thomasson Sheriffs of the said city, John Cotyngham, John Sotheworth, and others.

Given at Chester the 12 Dec., 6 Edward IV. [1467].

I will refer to the lessor, James del Hope, in the next Deed.

The only reference I can find relating to Richard Smyth, the lessee, is on the Cheshire Recognizance Rolls, 27th April, 1473, when Richard Smyth, John Bunbury, Robert Grosvenor, Richard Osbaldeston, and Richard Bebynton, entered into a recognizance for £20 with Edward Earl of Chester, that Richard Smyth should keep the peace towards Thomas Whitof and Thomas Harwode.

The land of St. Anne was on the north side of East-gate Street, not far from St. Giles' oven, and formed part of the possessions of the Chapel of St. Anne, within the precincts of the Collegiate Church of St. John.

Sir John Bromley, Knight, held considerable lands about Chester. His seat was at Badington, in the Hundred of Nantwich. His ancestor, Sir John Bromley, was one of the distinguished warriors of Henry V., in his French wars. His Cheshire property passed, by marriage of his heiress, to the Needhams, whose present representative is Lord Kilmorey.

William Lely or Lilley of Chester I find, in 1461, was one of the sureties for Thomas Bulkeley and Thomas de Swetenham for a lease of all fines for boiling salt, and of certain rents and customs of Courts and Fairs at Middlewich; so he was evidently a man of importance.

The Sheriffs, Rooson and Thomasson, are named in the Remission to the City, in 1471, of £50 from its chief rent, and are described as "late" Sheriffs.

The following is a translation of Deed No. 9:—

Let all present and future people know that I, James del Hope, a citizen of the City of Chester, have given, granted, and by this my present indented charter confirmed to John Loker, a citizen of the said City, two messuages lying together with their appurtenances in "Estgatestrete" in the said City, situate in latitude between the lane called Saint "Werbur-lane" in the said City on the one part, and the messuage lately belonging to Thomas Sparke on the other part, and extending in longitude from the king's street of "Estgatestrete" aforesaid to the land which the said Thomas Sparke lately held under lease from Wllliam del Hope, my father. To have and to hold the said two messuages with all their appurtenances to the said John Loker his heirs and assigns for ever. Rendering annually to me, the said James del Hope, my heirs and assigns twelve pence stirling at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, the Nativity of our Lord, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in equal proportions, and performing for

the chief lords of the fee the service therefor due and by right accustomed. With clause of distress for non-payment of rent, and clause of warranty.

These being witnesses, John Sotheworth Mayor of the City of Chester, Roger Wermyncham and Henry Deye Sheriffs of the said City, John Cotingham, William Masey, John Pilkington, with many others.

Dated at Chester the fourth day of the month of July the First year of the reign of King Edward the Fourth after the Conquest of England.

The family of Hope of Broughton were well-known in Chester and Flintshire. They filled the civic chair on several occasions, and held the office of Sheriff for the County of Flint. James, the grantor of this Deed, does not appear to have aspired to civic honours. From the Cheshire Rolls it appears to have been doubtful at one time if this family were to be considered English or Welsh; for in 1427 a writ was issued to the Escheator of Chester to enquire if John del Hope, Mayor of the City of Chester, was wholly Welsh; and whether he had purchased land in the City of Chester contrary to the statute of 2 Henry IV., which prohibited any Welshman from purchasing lands or tenements "in the Towns of Chester, Salop, Bridgnorth, Ludlow, Lempster, Hereford, Gloucester, Wircestre, or in any other of the Marches of Wales."

John Loker is mentioned in these same Cheshire Rolls. Ormerod, in a note, says that the name of the Sheriff of the City in 1443, "Jenkin Lowther," in the Minister's Accounts, is given as John Loker.

The name of the witness John Sotheworth is given in the list of Mayors as John Southworth. He was Sheriff in 1449; and Mayor 1458-9-60-67-74-77 and 80.

William Massey was Mayor in 1449, when Southworth was Sheriff.

John Pilkington was Mayor in 1440. In 1461 he is described as "*Armiger pro corpore nostro*," and appointed for life Constable of Chester Castle; and in 1464, together with Sir William Stanley, had a lease of the "King's Pool," and the piscary of the same.

The Cottinghams were a well-known Wirral family, and filled the office of Mayor on several occasions; but I do not find the name of this witness on the Civic Roll.

The last Deed runs thus:—

Let all present and future people know that I, Thomas Belletur, a citizen of the City of Chester, have given, granted, and by this my present charter confirmed, to Hugh Hurlton of Chester, a messuage with a garden adjoining with their appurtenances situate in "Cuppyngeslane" in the City of Chester, in latitude between the land of the Hospital of St. John outside the North gate of the said City on the one part, and the land of William ffraunces, fishmonger, on the other part, and contain in latitude $7\frac{1}{2}$ Royal Virgates, and contain in longitude from the king's street of "Cuppyngeslane" aforesaid to the land of William Troutbek, Knight, 28 Royal Virgates. To have and to hold all the said messuage and garden with their appurtenances to the said Hugh his heirs and assigns rendering to the chief lords of the fee the services therefor due and of right accustomed. With clause of warranty.

These being witnesses, John Barowe Mayor of the City of Chester, Richard Wright, draper, and ¹Richard Wyrehale Sheriffs of the same City, and many others.

Dated at the City of Chester the Friday next after the Feast of Saints ² and Valerian in the Sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Seventh after the Conquest of England.

¹ There was formerly a window in St. Mary's Church, "Pray for the souls of Richard Wyrall, formerly Mayor of Chester, and Agnes his wife, and of their children, who caused this window to be made in the year 1521."

² Blemish in Deed—name undistinguishable.

On the Cheshire Rolls I find the name of a Stephen Belleyettor of Chester in 1421. Alexander Bellatur I find sometimes is called Bellezeter.

Hugh Hurdleston was Sheriff of the City in 1482; and Mayor in 1487.

We learn from this Deed that the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem had property in Cuppin Street.

Sir William Troutbeck was the last of his line. He died childless; and the Troutbeck Cheshire estates passed, through the marriage of his niece Margaret with Sir John Talbot of Grafton, to the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury. Sir William, whose house was, probably, in Castle Street, with land running backwards to Cuppin Street, was buried in the Troutbeck Chapel at St. Mary's, in September 1510.

Members of the Barrow family filled the office of Mayor and also of Sheriff several times; but John Barrow's name only appears as Mayor for 1490.

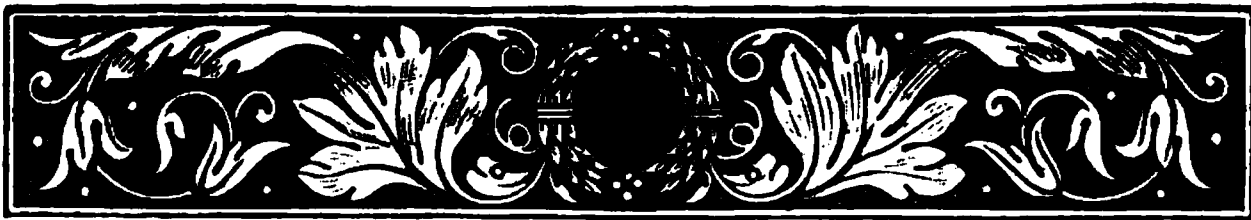
Richard Wright was Mayor 1502-9; and Richard Wyrehall or Wirral or Worrall in 1507. The well-known Chester surname of Worrall is evidently derived from the name of the Hundred of Wirral.

In conclusion, I heartily thank Dr. Stolterfoth for having so kindly photographed these old Deeds, and thus enabled me to present them to you on the screen in a more interesting form than they would have been had they been simply mounted on cardboard only. Nevertheless, they are so mounted also, and I invite your inspection of them.

I am glad to see some of the younger members of my own profession here to-night, and I take this opportu-

nity of asking them, whenever they come across any of these old Deeds, to pay respect to them, and not to throw them away. I know the modern conveyancer "cares not for these things." All the Deeds he respects are those that will make up the short title to property required in these days; but to students of local history these ancient little Deeds, usually labelled "useless," are invaluable.





Obituary

HIS HONOUR JUDGE WYNNE FFOULKES

IT is with great regret that we chronicle in this number of the Journal the death of one of our Vice-Presidents, His Honour Judge Wynne Ffoulkes, who died at his residence, Old Northgate House, Chester, on June 27th, 1903.

He had retired from his judicial duties as County Court Judge at the end of 1899, having discharged them with consummate ability for twenty-four years. Of his distinguished legal qualifications we need not speak here; it is sufficient to say that they were of a very high order, and received due recognition from every quarter. It is as an archæologist and antiquary of considerable achievement that we have specially to regret his loss.

He came to Chester shortly after the Archæological Society was founded, and was elected a member in 1855, succeeding the Rev. W. H. Massie as *Secretary*. Early numbers of the Journal will show how keen was the interest he took in the Society's work, and how valuable were the contributions which he made, from time to time, to the discussions at its meetings. He was ever keenly alive to the necessity of preserving the ancient character of the buildings of our old City; and no improvements or restorations were made without his vigilant eye being turned upon them, and his careful criticism being given. This was the case, not only when "God's Providence House" was re-edified (see Vol. II., p. 405), but also quite recently, when the roof of S. Mary's-on-the-Hill was repaired. Amongst other contributions of his to the Transactions, was a Paper on the "Life and Character of Archbishop

Plegmund and on his connection with this County," which was read before the Society in January 1862.

He also took an active part in the proceedings of the Cambrian Archæological Society, and contributed a number of valuable papers to the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*." The late Judge was an authority on the British Camps and Earthworks, and made fruitful investigations in the mountains about the Vale of Clwyd. He was a connoisseur of old silver and china, and had a very extensive and valuable library, the catalogue of which (prepared for the sale which took place on November 10th) showed how wide and varied were his literary tastes.

He had not been able to attend the Evening Meetings of the Society for some time, but he was still a warm supporter of it, and his wise counsel and advice will be much missed.

The following "Tribute from a Friend" is worth preserving, and will be read with interest and treasured by the members of the Society:—"The late Judge's varied attainments, and his cultured mind, brought him into contact with many great men, and his acquaintance was sought, and his delightful conversation regarded as a great charm. There were few subjects upon which he was unable to speak with knowledge; and his extreme vivacity, warm hospitality, and cordial greetings were greatly appreciated. A truly Christian spirit pervaded all his actions, and he was forgiving and kind in whatever he had to do or say. An earnest Churchman all through his life, he imparted a spirit of Christian feeling wherever he went. A central figure among us all, he was much esteemed and highly regarded by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His removal will be a severe loss to many to whom he held out the hand of generosity in a quiet, helpful, and unostentatious manner. He loved the Cathedral and the quaint old spots of our City, and knew their history far better than most who are supposed to have a thorough acquaintance with the subject. He has delighted many a friend with his knowledge when conducting him or her around the City. When appointed a Judge, Wigan was then a part of his circuit, but the work on his circuit was so heavy that the Lord Chancellor attached that town to a less busy circuit.

On his appointment it was said of the learned Judge: 'The appointment will give the most lively satisfaction to the legal profession and the public. During his long career at the Bar the learned gentleman's high personal qualifications have gained for him universal esteem; and in selecting him to succeed the late Judge Harden, the Lord Chancellor has not only acknowledged the just claims of a barrister of eminent ability, but secured for the administration of a most important department of law the advices of a gentleman of undoubted judicial capacity.' That was written by a leading journal in 1875. How true it has proved those who knew the late Judge's punctilious care and painstaking qualities can readily conclude. His is a very great loss to the legal profession, to the country, and to our City. The true type of a fine old cultured courtly English gentleman—now, alas! few and far between—he could ill be spared; but it can be truthfully said of him that he has passed away full of years and honours, leaving behind, in his life and actions, a great example to many, and universally mourned by all. As was said of him by an exalted personage: 'He has served the State and the public with conspicuous ability.' What finer monument can be wished for than that the record of one's life can be summed up thus!"



ABSTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS, 1902-1903

EXCURSION TO LUDLOW

It was natural, after the interesting Paper on "Ludlow and the Masque of Comus" (which will be found in the last number of the Journal), that the Society should wish to visit that town; and so it was arranged that the Summer Excursion in 1902 should be to Ludlow, and it, accordingly, took place on July 28th.

On reaching the town they were met by an enthusiastic local antiquary, Mr. T. J. Salwey, under whose guidance they first visited the "Crown Hotel" (to inspect the old oak panelling taken from the round Church in Ludlow Castle), and the fine old Jacobean Hotel "The Feathers." At the latter hostelry the party lunched, and were joined by the Rev. Prebendary Clayton, Rector of Ludlow. After luncheon a visit was paid to the magnificent Collegiate Church of St. Lawrence, where the lofty lantern tower; the unique south-west porch; the old glass in the north chapel; the varied architecture; and the beautiful series of carved misereres (of which illustrations appeared in our last number), excited much admiration; while Dr. Palmer, the organist, gave a selection of music on the large four-manual organ, erected by Messrs. Gray & Davison. The different features of the Church (almost cathedral-like in its dignified proportions) were pointed out and explained by Canon Clayton, who was a most excellent guide. Our last

Sundury Church

Dr. Stutterfuch, Photo.

number contains a fuller description of the Church, so that we need not repeat what was then said.

After thoroughly inspecting all that was to be seen in this beautiful Church, the party proceeded to the Museum, where the Curator, Mr. Charles Fatey, gave an interesting account of some geological changes in Scotland, illustrated by an ingenious model which he himself had constructed. Many fine charters belonging to the Ludlow Corporation are in the Museum, and these, and other municipal documents, were kindly shown by the Town Clerk, Mr. J. H. Williams.

A mediæval residence of much antiquity and interest was then inspected; and afterwards the party went to the Castle, where, amid the ruins, and under the shadow of the Norman Church and the "Comus" Hall, Mr. Salwey gave a most interesting lecture on the history and associations of this grand mediæval structure. The remains of the round Church were the object of special attention. It was left to the imagination of the visitors, with the recollection of the above-mentioned Paper in their minds, to picture to themselves the scene that would be presented in that grand old hall, when the "Masque of Comus" was first performed therein.

By the kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Marston, whose house is situated within the Castle grounds, tea was partaken of at their residence, and much appreciated.

Other objects of interest visited were Ludford Bridge and the fine old-timbered house there; the Town Walls; the Barnaby House (a hospice for pilgrims to St. Winefred's Well); and the "Reader's" house, near the Church.

A return to Chester, in the evening, closed a very instructive and delightful day.

J. C. B.

It will be remembered that Canon Clayton, in describing the beautiful old glass in the east window of St. John's Chapel, pointed to some which was modern, and very inferior, which had been placed side by side with it in the same Chapel. The following further information will, therefore, be interesting: A few months after the visit, the Archdeacon of Chester wrote to the Rector, to ask if there was any foundation for the statement that the old glass had been preserved from destruction, in Puritan times, by having been buried by the Churchwardens. He received the following reply: "I never heard, before you mentioned it, that any of the glass was buried to preserve it from destruction, and I do not think it was so. I well remember Bishop Atlay telling me that Archbishop Benson recognized two of the windows, which were put in when the Church was restored in 1860, under Scott's direction, as being the bad modern glass, which had been sold out of Winchester College Chapel. Scott ought never to have allowed them to be put up here; but he cared not to look after details. It is a thing about which I am very indignant. They were intended, I believe, as a memorial by the donor; and he ought to have taken care that they were of the best kind, instead of what they are—manifestly inferior to the other glass."

VISIT TO CHURCH OF S. MARY-ON-THE-HILL

On Wednesday, October 1st, 1902, a visit was paid by the members of the Society to the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester, when the Rector (the Venerable the Archdeacon of Chester) explained various features of the Church, and gave a short history of the edifice. The beautiful roof of the Nave, recently restored at great cost, was not described, as it was hoped that a second visit might be arranged, so that it and the old glass and monuments might be more closely examined.

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Bunbury Church: Altar-tomb of Sir Hugh Calveley

Dr. Sturtevant, 1901.

EXCURSION TO BUNBURY, ACTON, AND DORFOLD HALL

The Summer Excursion took place on Thursday, July 23rd, 1903, and proved most successful. It had been determined not to go far afield, but to visit places of interest near at hand.

Twenty-one members left the General Station at 2-20 p.m. for Beeston Castle Station, where a couple of Brakes were in waiting, and conveyed them to Bunbury Church, which is dedicated to S. Boniface. The appearance of the west end, externally, is somewhat unusual, as the tower is included in the Church, and not distinct from it, as is more frequently the case. Entering by the west door, the visitor is at once struck by the graceful and elegant character of the arcading which separates the Nave from the Aisles. This is in the Perpendicular style, whilst the Tower and Chancel are older, and date from the 14th Century. Mr. C. H. Minshull acted as guide, and pointed out the various architectural features of the building. The Tower, as has been said, is included in the Church, and is supported on three handsome arches, with deeply cut mouldings of the best Decorated period. The pillars on either side of the Nave are singularly light and slender, and are almost devoid of capitals. The Chancel arch dies away into the wall, and is, also, without capitals. The Chancel is, at present, on the same level as the Nave; but, originally, it was lower. In the centre of it is the fine altar-tomb of Sir Hugh Calveley. It is of alabaster, and was formerly richly coloured and gilt. The raising of the Chancel floor has, perhaps, interfered with its original appearance, as the lower moulding is probably now hidden. The warrior has his hands clasped in prayer; his feet resting on a lion; and his head supported by a calf's head (the Calveley crest). The interesting features of the armour were carefully pointed out by Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A. The following is the description of the Knight from Fuller: "Tradition

makes him a man of teeth and hands, who would feed as much as two and fight as much as ten men ; his quick and strong appetite could digest anything but an injury." He was, in fact, a "Soldier of fortune." Another monument (in the north-east angle of the Sanctuary) is that of Sir George Beeston, who, when 89 years of age, took an active part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and died at the age of 102. In the Chancel is preserved the chain originally attached to the "Chained Bible"; and there is also a chained copy of "Burkitt's Notes on the New Testament," presented by a Dean of Chester.

On the south side of the Chancel is the Ridley or Egerton Chapel, separated from it by three arches, which are filled with a light Gothic stone-screen. In the centre one is a most interesting oak door, with interlaced work of a somewhat unusual kind. Along the cornice of the screen is the inscription: "This Chapel was made at the cost and charg of Sir Rauffe Egerton, Knight, in the yere of oure Lord God A.D. mccccxxvii." The tomb of the founder originally stood in the centre of the Chapel, but this has disappeared. On the wall is a modern brass, let into the same matrix on the slab from which the old one had been taken. The effect of the screen is somewhat marred by the projection of the organ over the western bay. The Chapel, which was fast becoming ruinous, was restored in 1894, largely at the cost of Mr. Ralph Brocklebank, of Haughton Hall. Two other Chapels formerly existed in the Church; the Spurstow Chapel at the end of the south Aisle, and the Davenport Chapel in the north Aisle. At the east end of the former some faint traces of mural painting, the legend of S. Christopher, were observed. At the west end of the south Aisle are preserved some ancient tombstones, with floriated crosses and other carvings. The old oak door into the south Porch was carefully noted. After inspecting the exterior of the edifice, and admiring, specially, the south elevation (where a figure of S. Boniface in the niche above the Porch, presented by Mr. John Douglas,

Beton Church: Monument of Sir William Adamwaring of Baddley and Prover

Dr. Stodterfath, Photo

was pointed out), the party resumed their places in the Brakes, and drove to Acton.

Here they were hospitably entertained at tea at the Vicarage, by the Rev. Herbert and Mrs. Moore, before visiting the Church. Some of the party inspected the remains of the moat in the garden, supposed to have been made as a protection against the incursions of the Welsh.

The Church is a very fine one, with several distinct features. The Tower, as at Bunbury, is included in the Church, and, with the central arcade, dates from the end of the 12th Century, about 1180. But traces of a much older Church, of Saxon times, are to be seen in some interesting carved stones preserved in the South Aisle; the remains of a column; and in the Font. The latter was restored to the Church from the garden of Dorfold, by Mr. Henry Tollemache, M.P.

On entering the Church the appearance of the west end is remarkably fine, the supporting arches of the Tower being massive, and the three lancets over the door exceedingly beautiful. One other characteristic of the Church is remarkable. The interior walls, both of the Chancel and the Aisles, are enriched with decorative arcading. The original Aisles were removed, and the present ones built, at the beginning of the 15th Century, when a Chantry was established as a memorial to William Mainwaring, of Badelye, who died in 1398, and whose beautiful tomb, with alabaster effigy, is seen in what was S. Mary's Chapel, in the North Aisle. Fragments of a lancet window and a round doorway of the original Aisle were found at the recent restoration (under Messrs. H. J. Austin & Paley, of Lancaster) in 1897, and have been re-erected for preservation in the heating chamber. To the same period is also to be ascribed the earlier part of the Chancel, as evidenced by the Priest's Seat and Piscina. During the Civil Wars the Church suffered severely, being occupied as an advanced post by the Castle of Nantwich. A little later an exten-

sive restoration was effected by the Wilbrahams, who then lived at Dorfold, whose arms appear on the outside of the Chancel, and who must have erected the beautiful Jacobean woodwork, which has recently been all cleaned and re-made, and is most worthy of admiration. In 1757, "one of the greatest storms in the memory of man blew down about thirteen feet of the upper part of the Tower," and did much injury to the fabric. To the repairs made at that period (for which we may say "a Brief" was issued) were due the lath and hideous plaster ceilings, and the debased Clerestory windows, with which the Church was for so long disfigured.

Under Messrs. H. J. Austin & Paley, at the cost of Mr. T. Sutton Timmis, Lord Tollemache, and Mr. H. J. Tollemache, M.P., the Church has been most carefully and judiciously restored. Fine oak roofs take the place of the former mean ceilings; new Clerestories have been erected; oak seats have been substituted for the square pews; an organ chamber has been built; and many gifts have been made to the Church, which is now in a perfect condition. In the South Aisle are the Woodhey Chapel at the east end (where a fine monument of the Wilbrahams is still to be seen) and the Dorfold Chapel at the west. Bishop Gastrell, in his *Notitia Cestriensis*, speaks also of a "Wilbraham Chappell in the Clerestory." Can this have been entered by the door above the Tower arch, which now gives light into the belfry?

After a rapid inspection of the exterior, and hearty thanks to the Vicar and Mrs. Moore, the party drove to Dorfold Hall, the residence of Mr. H. J. Tollemache, M.P., where they were received by the Rev. Algernon and Mrs. Tollemache. The approach is by an avenue leading into a courtyard, on two sides of which are ranges of lower buildings containing the offices, and on the other the mansion itself, a three-storey building of brick, with stone

¹ At Chatham Parish Church the collection for this purpose amounted to 6s. 7d., and was made on May 20th 1759, whilst the repairs were estimated at £1,160.

Dorothy Ball

Dr. Stutterford, F.R.S.

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facings, surmounted by several gables. It dates from 1616, having been built by Mr. Ralph Wilbraham, on the site of the old mansion of the Bromleys. The large chimneys and bay windows give a distinct character to the house. The entrance hall is reached by a flight of steps, and is a handsome apartment, with ceiling and beams richly ornamented, and a fine fireplace. On the right is the staircase, which has a balustrade fixed to the wall on either side, and leads to the drawing room, which is on the first floor. This room was much admired; it is surrounded with oak panneling, whilst the carved ceiling is elaborately decorated with devices and pendants. The fireplace here, with chimneypiece and sides, excited the admiration of all. In fact, the room is as perfect a specimen as could well be found of domestic architecture of the early 17th Century. Other rooms were visited, including King James' bedroom, with oak-pannelling of various dates and designs. In one a secret closet was shown, capacious enough to hold two or three people.

The time was all too short to see thoroughly all that might have been seen, and to examine a large folio book with pedigrees and coats-of-arms, which seemed to recall the work of Randle Holme; but enough was seen to make all anxious to pay another visit to this interesting house.

Before leaving for Crewe (which was reached a little before 8 p.m., after a pleasant drive through Nantwich and Wistaston), a walk was taken through the gardens, which still retain their characteristics, with their old gateways, and ornamental gates. The view across the park from the front of the house, with a sheet of water (at one time much larger) in the foreground, and the Church Tower in the distance, was most picturesque. Warm thanks were accorded to Mr. and Mrs. Tollemache for their kindness; and all were of opinion that seldom, if ever, has a more enjoyable excursion been arranged for the members of the Society.

E. B.

VISIT TO CHESTER CASTLE

Through the courtesy of Colonel Ommaney and Major Fountain the Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society paid an interesting visit, on Wednesday afternoon, October 14th, 1903, to Chester Castle.

Despite the inclemency of the weather, there was a numerous gathering of members under the leadership of the Ven. Archdeacon Barber and Mr. R. Newstead (Curator of the Grosvenor Museum). The party were met by Major Stretton and others Officers of the Dépôt, and were first conducted through the Officers' Quarters, where their attention was principally devoted to the interesting collection of old armour which came from the old Castle armoury. Some of the armour belongs to the 16th Century, and this, and a number of ancient weapons and curios, were inspected with great interest. The party were afterwards conducted through the old portion of the Castle by Sergt.-Major White and Sergt.-Major Gregg.

Considering that the Castle is of Norman origin, and that for centuries before the Norman Conquest the spot upon which it stands was doubtless a notable Saxon fortification, the few historic evidences of the buildings which are still preserved were naturally the chief centre of attraction to the archæologists. Cæsar's Tower, therefore, received special attention, but the visitors entered this structure with some trepidation on discovering that it was converted into an ammunition magazine, containing fifty barrels of dynamite, a vast store of cartridges, and other explosives. In this tower is the old Chapel, a small gloomy apartment, which is also stored with explosives; a notice at the entrance giving the injunction not to smoke or strike matches, or even to enter with nailed boots. The vaulted ceiling of this Chapel is still in preservation, but little else remains to indicate its former sacred purpose. An interesting historic association of the Chapel is the fact that

King James II. there once received the Sacrament. A visit was afterwards paid to the flag-tower, the base of which is believed to be the oldest portion of the Castle. Some of the Norman stonework is there still to be seen, though all Saxon traces have been lost. From the flag tower a splendid bird's-eye view of the City was obtained, but the mist, unfortunately, concealed the picturesque panorama of the Welsh hills. The members had also the privilege of inspecting the modern portions of the buildings, including the stores, Non-Commissioned Officers' Quarters, cook-house, gymnasium, and recreation rooms. In the stores they were shewn arms and complete equipment for a thousand reservists, in case of mobilization; and it was pointed out that the completeness of the arrangements was such that, in an emergency, the men could be equipped and ready for service within a few hours on assembly. It was explained, however, that the rifles (numbering 1,040), being of the Lee-Metford pattern, and therefore obsolete in the regular army, were practically useless, and would shortly be called in. While inspecting this department, the visitors were entertained by the Sergeant-Major with an exposition of the mechanism of the rifle, and the portable cooking apparatus of the soldiers.

With reference to this visit to the Castle, it may be well to call the attention of the members to the Paper of Dr. Brushfield (read in July 1863), on "The Roman Remains of Chester," which will be found in Part VIII. of the Old Series of the Journal. On page 44, after mentioning the old Shipgate and the old Eastgate as examples of Roman arches, he adds, "Lastly, there is that most interesting one at Chester Castle, where it occupies a most singular position, as it assists in supporting one of the angles of that Norman structure, the Julian Tower. The span of the arch is eight feet; it is six feet deep; and formed of one ring of stones." Dr. Brushfield gives a drawing of this arch, taken by himself at that time, which will be found facing page 42.

In the full and interesting monograph on Chester Castle, by the late Mr. E. W. Cox, which will be found in Vol. V. of the New Series of our Journal, a full description is given of the Castle, and the various stages of its history. On page 270 is the following passage: "Adjoining it (*i.e.*, the kitchen) was the larder, which stood nearer to the (Julian) tower, and to the screens of the hall, as usual. The arch against the side of Cæsar's Tower (*supposed to be Roman*) is really part of this building, apparently a postern adjoining the great fireplace, leading on to the rampart of the wall of the court in the ditch."

Canon Morris, in his book (*Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns*), gives this account of the "Julian" Tower: "Immediately east of the gateway was the so-called Julian Tower, which contained three apartments, a crypt on the floor level, supporting a fine stone-vaulted chapel, and above that a third vaulted chamber. The chapel had some figures painted on the walls, an outline of which is given in Hanshall's *Cheshire* (see page 259). Pennant gives the dimensions as 19 feet 4 inches by sixteen six; the height also sixteen six. The roof is vaulted, but the couples, which are rounded slender and elegant, run down the walls, and rest on the cornuted capitals of five short but beautiful round pillars, in the same style with those in the Chapter House of the Cathedral; probably the work of the same architect."

Canon Morris' book (pages 96 and 97) contains plates of the Chapel and of the outer Castle Gate, taken down in 1790; and Mr. Cox, in his Paper, gives a full description of Cæsar's Tower. He also says, "The interior of the Chapel has been covered with frescoes, painted on a thin coat of fine hard plaster; . . . some indistinct figures can, with difficulty, be discerned under the thin coat of white-wash that now covers it."

COUNCIL MEETINGS.

At a Meeting of the Council, on September 17th, 1902, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the opening Meeting of the Session was fixed for October 21st, and it was decided to ask the Rev. Canon Morris if he would then read his promised Paper. Other Papers were suggested for the Session. The Hon. Curator read a letter from the National Trust for places of Historic Interest, with reference to Basingwerke Abbey. It was decided to sanction the expenditure of £12 on illustrating the new volume of the Journal, which it was hoped to issue in January. The balance of the fund collected for Mrs. Thompson Watkin was ordered to be paid to her. A gift of a medal of William and Mary, by Mr. Nicholson, of Oswestry, was reported; and four new members were elected.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on October 21st, 1902, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, five new members were elected. It was

Resolved :—"That no manuscript, or other similar document, be allowed to leave the Society's Library; but should anyone require to see any of the papers or manuscripts belonging to the Society, every facility would be given for such inspection at any time, during reasonable hours, at the Museum."

Gifts were reported of (1) A photograph of Eliseg's Pillar, Llangollen, by Dr. Stolterfoth; and (2) A copy of the Pedigree of Sir Thomas Browne, by Mr. Fergusson Irvine.

At a Meeting of the Council, on December 22nd, 1902, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, it was

Resolved :—"That inasmuch as the Subscriptions are now due on the 1st of January in each year, but that the usual Session does not commence until the 1st of October following, extending to March in the succeeding year, at which

date the annual Accounts are made up, the date at which the Subscriptions to the Society become due be altered from the 1st of January to the 1st of April in each year, and that Rule 12 be altered accordingly."

It was decided to order 300 copies of the forthcoming Journal to be printed. Arrangements were made for a Paper for the January Meeting; and also for one on "St. Werburgh and her Shrine," to be read on St. Werburgh's Day, February 3rd, 1903.

In accordance with the above resolution, the following Circular was prepared and issued to the members of the Society:—

**"CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL
AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.**

In consequence of the inconvenience and difficulty occasioned by the Subscriptions to the Society becoming due and payable on the 1st day of January in each year, and the usual Session of the Society not commencing until the 1st October following, the Council beg to give notice that, acting under Rule 6, the date when Subscriptions will become due has been altered to the 1st day of April in each year, thus permitting the first half of the Society's year to be set aside for Summer Excursions, and the latter half for Winter Evening Meetings at the Museum. The Subscriptions will, therefore, be collected in the Summer."

At a Meeting of the Council, held on January 20th, 1903, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the following letter from the Museum Management Committee was read:—

"At a Meeting of the Management Committee, held January 5th, the question of the debit balance (about £400) was considered, the Bank having intimated that arrangements must be made now for the repayment of their debt, and it was

Resolved :—‘ That the overdraft of say £400 be referred to the contributing Societies with a view to their undertaking responsibility *pro rata* for the same.’

I shall be pleased to know if you will be responsible for your portion, which works out as follows :—

	Contribution.	Proportion of Debt.
Schools	£480	£312 3 10
Archæological Society ..	60	39 0 6
Natural Science Society ..	75	48 15 8
	<u>£615</u>	<u>£400 0 0</u>

Yours faithfully,

J. DODD.”

It was decided to call a Special Meeting of the Council to consider this letter.

One new member was elected. A resolution was passed expressing the hope that Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, the Hon. Curator, would soon be restored to health.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on January 20th, 1903, Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., in the Chair, one new member was elected, and two resignations reported. An old document, signed “Nelson and Bronte,” was presented by Mr. W. D. Haswell, who was thanked for his gift. The arrangements for the March Meeting were left in the hands of the Secretary.

At a Special Meeting of the Council, held on March 11th, 1903, His Honour Sir Horatio Lloyd in the Chair, the letter from the Museum Management Committee, asking the Society to be responsible for £39 os. 6d. towards liquidating the debit balance of the Committee, was considered. The Council considered that the Society was not in any way responsible for the overdraft; and that it should receive more accommodation at the Museum for its property, and specially for its books. After full discussion, it was

Resolved :—“That the Secretary be instructed to reply to the Museum Management Committee that, without admitting any liability, the Society would be prepared to pay the proportion of the overdraft (viz., £39 os. 6d.) for which a requisition has been made upon them, upon condition that the Room (No. 2) on the right-hand of the entrance be given up to their use (jointly, if desired, with the Natural Science Society) as a Library and Reading Room, or for other like purposes.”

A further resolution was passed, authorizing the sale of an amount of L.& N.W. Railway Stock sufficient to provide for this; for the cost of the new Journal; for the furnishing of Library, &c.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on Tuesday, March 24th, 1903, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, three new members were elected; and the Secretary reported that Volume IX. of the Transactions of the Society (New Series) had been published, and issued to the members. A special vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Newstead for indexing the volume, and for providing such excellent illustrations.

At a Meeting of the Council, held on May 4th, 1903, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair, the following members were elected upon the Museum Management Committee for the ensuing year, viz.:—The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. W. W. Tasker, Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., Mr. E. Hodgkinson, and Dr. J. C. Bridge.

The following letter was read from the Museum Management Committee, with reference to the resolution passed at the Special Meeting of the Council, and the application for the Room (No. 2) as a Library :—

“7th April, 1903.

Dear Sir,

I read your letter of 14th ultimo at a Meeting of the Management Committee, held yesterday, and I was in-

structed to send to you a copy of the following resolutions passed at the Meeting, viz. :--

1. *Resolved* :—‘ That the request of the Archæological Society and Natural Science Society, for the use of Room No. 2 as a Library, be granted, subject to the general division of the room and plan of shelving being submitted to and approved by the Management Committee.’

2. *Resolved* :—‘ That the contributing Societies be called upon to pay the proportion of the debt for which they have undertaken responsibility.’

I shall be pleased to hear from you in due course.

Yours faithfully,

J. DODD.”

. A Letter from Mr. Edward Powell, asking why his Paper on “ Ralph Higden ” had not appeared in the Journal, was read ; and the matter was referred to the Editorial Secretary, with whom the selection of Papers for publication in the Journal must rest.

The Hon. Curator, Mr. E. Hodgkinson, stated that, in consequence of continued ill-health, he was compelled to resign his post. The Chairman, on behalf of the Society and the Council, expressed the warm thanks of the Society to Mr. Hodgkinson for his past services, and regret that he felt compelled to resign the Hon. Curatorship, and also for the step. He suggested that Mr. Hodgkinson should become Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Newstead Hon. Curator. Mr. Hodgkinson, having kindly consented, was unanimously elected Hon. Secretary, and Mr. Newstead Hon. Curator. Four new members were elected at this Meeting.

Minutes of the General Annual Meeting of the members of the Society, held at the Grosvenor Museum, on Tuesday, June 2nd, 1903 :—

Present : Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair ; Dr. H. Stolterfoth, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. Gleadowe, Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., Mr. R. Newstead, Mr. W. W.

Tasker, Rev. H. Grantham, Mr. C. H. Minshull, Mr. Barlow, and Mr. Walter Conway (Secretary).

The Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting of the members, held on May 13th, 1902, were read, affirmed, and signed by the Chairman.

The Annual Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, were read, and it was Proposed by the Chairman, Seconded by Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A., and

Resolved :—"That the Report of the Council, together with the Hon. Curator and Librarian's Report and the Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, be received, approved, and adopted."

It was Proposed by Dr. Stolterfoth, Seconded by Mr. W. W. Tasker, and

Resolved :—"That Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mr. F. W. Longbottom, Mr. C. H. Minshull, Mr. R. Newstead, and Mr. W. E. Brown, be re-elected members of the Council."

It was Proposed by Mr. C. H. Minshull, Seconded by Mr. R. Newstead, and

Resolved :—"That Mr. G. W. Haswell be re-elected Hon. Auditor for the ensuing year."

It was Proposed by Rev. H. Grantham, Seconded by Mr. R. Newstead, and

Resolved :—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the donors of books and objects of antiquarian interest during the past year."

It was Proposed by Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Seconded by Mr. H. Gleadowe, and

Resolved :—"That a vote of thanks be presented to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Officers of the Society, for conducting the affairs of the Society during the past year, and also to the Chairman for presiding."

The following were elected members : Mr. H. Bell, J.P., West Kirby ; Rev. C. A. Griffin, and Mrs. Stolterfoth.

An extra Meeting of the Council was held on June 2nd, 1903, the Venerable Archdeacon Barber in the Chair. A Sub-Committee was formed to make arrangements for the Summer Excursion (an account of which will be found on page 123).

The Secretary reported that the Natural Science Society was making arrangements to invite the members of the British Association (which was holding its Annual Meeting at Southport, in September) to visit Chester, and the co-operation of the Archæological Society was invited in conducting the visitors round the City. The Council willingly accepted the invitation, and appointed the following to join the Committee which the Natural Science Society was forming : The Venerable Archdeacon Barber, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mr. E. Hodgkinson, and Mr. R. Newstead.

The thanks of the Council were accorded to the Rev. H. Grantham for a donation of £1 1s. towards the deficiency noted in the Annual Accounts.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE COUNCIL beg to submit to the Members their Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year ending 31st March, 1903.

During the Session six Meetings have been held and the following Papers read :—

21st October, 1902.—Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., F.S.A.

"Gleanings from the Muniment Room of the Town Hall of the City of Chester. (Stuart Period)."

18th November, 1902.—Mr. Wm. Fergusson Irvine.

“Chester in the 12th and 13th Centuries.”

22nd December, 1902.—Mr. Robert Newstead, A.L.S., &c.

“St. Kilda: Some facts about its history and its people.”

20th January, 1903.—Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A.

“The Ancient Glass in the Church of St. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester.”

24th February, 1903.—Rev. F. Sanders, M.A., F.S.A.

“Bishop Lloyd.”

24th March, 1903.—Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A.

An exhibition and description of Ten early Chester Deeds, 1270-1490, relating to Property in Eastgate Street, Foregate Street, and Watergate Street.

24th March, 1903.—Mr. R. Newstead, A.L.S., &c.

An exhibition and description of the various objects added to the Society's Museum during the years 1901-2.

Two Papers were also read at the Annual Meeting, as under:—

13th May, 1902.—Ven. Archdeacon Barber, M.A.

“Ralph Higden: The discovery of his Tomb in Chester Cathedral, with some interesting particulars and correspondence connected therewith.”

13th May, 1902.—Dr. Stolterfoth, M.A., J.P.

Lantern Exhibition of a series of the City Charters dating from A.D. 1171 to A.D. 1689;

And one read on February 3rd, 1903, as mentioned below.

Two visits have been paid to the Cathedral during the Session. The first took place on the 21st July, 1902, to the Cathedral Tower; and the second on February 3rd, 1903 (St. Werburgh's Day), when the Ven. Archdeacon Barber read a Paper on “St. Werburgh and her Shrine.”

The Summer Excursion took place on the 28th July, 1902, to Ludlow, when the Castle, Church, and Museum, were visited, and a most enjoyable day was spent.

In consequence of the inconvenience occasioned by the Subscriptions becoming due on the 1st day of January in each year, and the usual Session of the Society not commencing

until the 1st October following, it has been decided to alter the date upon which Subscriptions shall become due from the 1st day of January to the 1st day of April in each year, thus permitting the first half of the Society's year to be set aside for Summer Excursions, and the latter half for Winter Evening Meetings at the Museum. The Subscriptions will, therefore, be collected in the Summer.

During the year Volume IX. (New Series) of the Society's Journal was issued to the Members, and the thanks of the Society are especially due to the Rev. F. Sanders (the Hon. Editorial Secretary), and also to Mr. R. Newstead for indexing it and providing most of the illustrations. The Volume was of especial interest to the Members and to citizens of Chester generally, containing, as it did, the Papers with illustrations of the various visits to the Cathedral.

The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts is submitted shewing a deficit of £7 16s. 5d. for this year.

It is the endeavour of the Council to issue every year a Volume of the Society's Transactions, but to do this more Members are required. Eighteen new Members were elected during the year, and it is hoped now that the Subscription is reduced to 10/6 per annum, that Members will induce their friends to join during the current year.

A request having been made to this Council by the Museum Management Committee to undertake, with the other contributing Societies, a proportion of an overdraft on the Bank incurred by that Committee (the proportion amounting to £39 os. 6d.), the Council decided to pay the same upon the condition that Room No. 2 in the Museum should be given up to their use; or, if desired, to be used jointly by this Society and the Natural Science Society, as a Library and Reading Room, or for other like purposes. This condition has been agreed to by the Museum Management Committee, and the room will, in due course, be fitted up as a Library, wherein the Books and Papers of the Society may be kept and inspected by Members at any time. The fitting-up of the room will involve the Society in some expense.

We regret to announce that Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, who for many years has acted as Honorary Curator and Librarian

of the Society, has resigned his office in consequence of ill-health. Mr. Hodgkinson has not, however, severed his connection with the Society, having undertaken the duties of Honorary Secretary. Mr. Robert Newstead has been elected Honorary Curator and Librarian in place of Mr. Hodgkinson.

The following gentlemen have been elected to represent the Society upon the Grosvenor Museum Management Committee, viz. :—Ven. Archdeacon Barber, Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. Henry Taylor, Mr. Edward Hodgkinson, Dr. J. C. Bridge, and Mr. W. W. Tasker.

Under Rule 4 the following Members of the Council retire, but are eligible for re-election, viz. :—Mr. T. S. Gleadowe, Mr. F. W. Longbottom, Mr. C. H. Minshull, Dr. J. C. Bridge, Mr. R. Newstead, and Mr. W. E. Brown.

THE HON. CURATOR AND LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

I have the pleasure to report the following additions to our Collection of Antiquities and Library :—

Presented by

<i>Silver Penny, Edward I. (first issue), struck at Chester ; and token of Richard Mynshall of Chester</i>	- - - - -	Mr. F. W. Longbottom.
<i>Impression of Roman Gold Coin, found in Handbridge, Chester</i>		Mr. A. Seymour Jones.
<i>Medal of William and Mary, found at Little Meols, Cheshire</i>		Mr. A. C. Nicholson.
<i>Spindle Whorl from Bidston Marsh, Cheshire</i>	- - -	Mr. Arthur Hughson.
<i>Autograph of Lord Nelson ("Nelson & Bronte") dated September 14th, 1805</i>	- - -	Mr. W. D. Haswell.

The Library is enriched each year by valuable volumes of Transactions received in exchange for ours from the following Societies :—

- The Society of Antiquaries, England ;
- The Society of Antiquaries, Scotland ;
- The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland ;

The Smithsonian Institution, United States of America ;
 The Cambrian Archæological Association ;
 The combined Architectural Societies of Lincoln,
 Northampton, and Worcestershire ;
 The Powis Land Club ;
 The Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire ;
 The Surrey Archæological Society ;
 The Essex Archæological Society ;
 The Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History
 Society ;
 The Cambridge Antiquarian Society ;
 The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society ;
 The Sussex Archæological Society ;
 The Shropshire Archæological and Natural History
 Society ;
 The Yorkshire Archæological Society ;
 The Warwickshire Naturalists' and Archæologists'
 Field Club ;
 The Hull Municipal Museum ;
 The Barrow-in-Furness Naturalists' and Literary and
 Scientific Association ;
 The National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden ;
 Verein Von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande, Bonn,
 Germany.

The Society also continues to subscribe to the *Antiquary*,
 the *Index Library*, the *Record Society of Lancashire and*
Cheshire, and the *Cheshire Sheaf*.

I venture to repeat the concluding paragraph of my Report
 of 1899—"With the wealth of Books this building contains,
 belonging to ourselves and our friends of the Natural Science
 Society, surely it is not too much to hope that a Room, properly
 equipped as a Library, may before long become a prominent
 feature of the Grosvenor Museum." That this hope is shortly
 to be realized, the Society has now good reason to congratulate
 itself upon.

EDWARD HODKINSON,

Hon. Curator and Librarian.

MAY, 1903.

THE CHESTER AND NORTH WALES ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SOCIETY.

Statement of Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st March, 1903.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	119	13	0
„ Dividend on London & North-Western Railway			
Stock.....	20	5	5
„ Rev. H. Grantham—to defray expenses of labelling			
Stones	1	1	0
„ Sale of Journals and Catalogues	5	19	0
	<hr/>		
	146	18	5
Balance—Deficiency	57	8	3

£204 6 8

MAY 20th, 1903—*Examined with the Vouchers and found correct,*

GEO. W. HASWELL,

HON. AUDITOR,

PAYMENTS.

By Balance—Deficiency brought forward from last			
Account	49	11	10
„ Museum Management Committee	60	0	0
„ Labelling Stones in Museum	1	1	0
„ Purchase of Pottery, Old Coins, &c.	0	13	6
„ Subscription to British Record Society	1	1	0
„ Printing, Postages, and Stationery	10	14	3
„ Cost of Printing and Publishing Vol. VIII. of			142
Journal	57	18	7
„ Advertising	1	18	6
„ Secretary's Salary	15	15	0
„ Cost of illustrating Lectures	2	8	1
„ Bank Interest and Commission	0	8	4
„ Miscellaneous Expenses	2	16	7

89 2047

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1903

Amos, Francis, Bank of Liverpool, Chester

Ayrton, Maxwell, 28, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.

Baker, Miss, 2, Grey Friars, Chester

Ballard, E. G., Greenfield Cottage, Hoole Road, Chester

Barber, The Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., St. Bridget's Rectory, Chester

Barbour, George, D.L., J.P., Bolesworth Castle, near Chester

Barlow, W. H., 134, Prenton Road West, Higher Tranmere, Birkenhead

Bate, Thomas, D.L., J.P., Kelsterton, Flint

Bax, P. B. Ironside, Stanley Place, Chester

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Bennett, J. H. E., 66, Cambrian Crescent, Chester

Benson, E. F.

Best, Rev. J. D., M.A., Training College, Chester

Beswick, H., Newgate Street, Chester

Birch, Miss, Upper Northgate Street, Chester

Blease, Charles, 3, Spring Gardens, Chester

Blomfield, Charles J., 6, Montagu Place, Baker Street, London, W.

Blower, T. B., The Groves, Chester

Bridge, Dr. J. C., M.A., Christ Church Vicarage, Brook Lane, Chester

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Brown, W. E., Pepper Street, Chester

Brown Mrs. W. E., 33, Parkgate Road, Chester

Brown, Miss L. E., The Folly, Flookersbrook, Chester

Browne, L. V., 27, Castle Street, Chester

Brushfield, Dr. T. N., Budleigh-Salterton, Exeter

Butt, A. W., Grey Friars, Chester

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Chester, The Very Rev. The Dean of, The Deanery, Chester

Chester, The Right Worshipful The Mayor of, Town Hall, Chester
Chester, The Sheriff of, Town Hall, Chester
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Coppack, Charles, Liverpool Road, Chester
Cullimore, John, J.P., The Friars, Chester
Cummings, Sidney, 6, King's Buildings, Chester

Davies, H. F., Newgate Street, Chester
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Dodd, John, Corn Exchange Chambers, Chester
Douglas, John, Dee Banks, Chester
Drury, R. C., Ingleside, Prestatyn, near Rhyl
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Fleming, Mrs., Rowton Grange, Chester
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Frost, J. M., J.P., Upton Lawn, Chester

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Gamon, J., Cathedral Chambers, Chester
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 Gleadowe, R. L., 11, Stanley Place, Chester
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 Gore, Rev. Canon, D.D., Bowdon Vicarage, Cheshire
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 [London, W.C.]
 Griffin, Rev. C. A., 16, Deva Terrace, Chester
 Griffith, G. R., Bridge Street, Chester
 Griffiths, John, Queen's Park, Chester

Haddington, Right Hon. Earl of, Arderne Hall, Tarporley
 Hargreaves, John, Ravenswood, Rock Ferry
 Handley, William, Aldersyde, Norman Road, Runcorn
 Hankey, W. L., R.I., Studio C, 404, Fulham Road, London, S.W.
 Harrod, H. D., F.S.A., Amlwch, Anglesea
 Harvey, Miss, Fern Lea, Stamford Bridge, Chester
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 Hobday, James, Liverpool Road, Chester
 Hodgkinson, Edward, Westminster Buildings, Newgate Street, Chester
 Holme, Samuel H., Downswood, Liverpool Road, Chester
 Holmes, J. G., J.P., Curzon Park, Chester
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 Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., Town Hall, Lancaster
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 Knowles, R., White Friars, Chester

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 Library, Free Public, St. John Street, Chester
 Library, Peel Park, Manchester
 Library, Chetham's, Manchester
 Library, City of London, Guildhall, London
 Library, Bodleian, Oxford
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 Longbottom, F. W., Queen's Park, Chester

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 Massie, Captain, The Mount, Malpas
 McEwen, Mrs., Pen-rallt, Abergele, North Wales
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 Pennant, P. P., D.L., M.A., J.P., Nantlys, St. Asaph
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Roberts, B. C., J.P., Oakfield, Chester
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Rogerson, Geo. H., White Friars, Chester
Roughsedge, Miss, Avondale, Devonshire Park, Birkenhead
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Siddall, J. D., The Cross, Chester
Simpson, F., Grosvenor Street, Chester
Skipwith, Francis, J.P., Old Bank, Chester
Smith, Samuel, Abbey Gateway, Chester
Smith, Thomas, J.P., Eastgate Row, Chester
Sothorn, Samuel, 21, Charles Street, Wrexham
Stewart, Martin, Edgar House, Chester
Stolterfoth, Dr., M.A., J.P., Grey Friars, Chester
Stolterfoth, Mrs., Grey Friars, Chester
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Taylor, James, F.R.C.S., Nicholas Street, Chester
Thomas, Edward, Pepper Street, Chester
Thomas, Dr. Haynes, Pepper Street, Chester
Thomas, Dr. F. Dodd, Pepper Street, Chester
Thompson, Edward P., Paul's Moss, Whitchurch, Salop
Thompson, Walter Stuart, The Lindens, Peterborough
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Tomkinson, Mrs., Willington Hall, Tarporley

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Wyndham, Right Hon. George, M.P., Saughton Grange, Chester
- Yerburgh, R. A., M.P., 25, Kensington Gore, London, S.W.



List of Illustrations

Frontispiece—The Shrine of St. Werburgh, Chester Cathedral

	Page
Grant of Hugh Earl of Chester to Pagan nephew (<i>nepoti</i>) of Isold	15
Seals of Documents relating to the City of Chester—	
No. 1. Seal of St. Mary's Nunnery (<i>c.</i> 1200)	16
„ 2. Seal of St. Mary's Nunnery (<i>c.</i> 1260)	16
„ 3. Seal of Abbot Hugh (1208—1226)	16
„ 4. Secretum of same	16
Quitclaim of Adam son of Hamon son of Herbert the Skinner	18
Seals of Documents relating to the City of Chester—	
No. 5. Seal of St. Werburgh's Abbey (<i>c.</i> 1225)	20
„ 6. Seal of Simon son of Ellen (<i>c.</i> 1230)	20
„ 7. Seal of Matilda wife of William the Cutler (<i>c.</i> 1276)	20
„ 8. Seal of Robert son of Alan of Tarvin (<i>c.</i> 1310)	20
„ 9. Seal of the Hospital of St. Giles', Boughton (1311-12)	24
„ 10. Seal of Adam Mustel (<i>c.</i> 1250)	24
„ 11. Seal of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the Northgate (<i>c.</i> 1240)	24
„ 12. Seal of William of Paris, bootmaker, of Chester (1309)	33
„ 13. Seal of Alan son of William Young (<i>c.</i> 1310)	33
„ 14. Seal of Lady Alina of Toft (<i>c.</i> 1288)	33
„ 15. Seal of William the Cutler (<i>c.</i> 1276)	33
The Old Glass in the tracery of the East Window, S. Mary-on-the- Hill, Chester	59
The Old Glass in the South-east Window, S. Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester	63
The Old Glass in the South-west Window, Mary-on-the-Hill, Chester	65
Examples of Rebus	66

	Page
S. Werburgh's Shrine as the Bishop's Throne (from a drawing by J. S. Prout), Chester Cathedral	69
S. Werburgh's Shrine as the Bishop's Throne, as restored by Canon Slade, Chester Cathedral	77
Plan of the Crown of S. Werburgh's Shrine, showing position of the Figures	80
North-east corner of the Crown of S. Werburgh's Shrine, Chester Cathedral	84
Bond by Nicholas called the Great	102
Bunbury Church	121
Bunbury Church: Altar-tomb of Sir Hugh Calveley	123
Acton Church: Monument of Sir William Mainwaring of Baddiley and Peover	125
Dorfold Hall	126





INDEX

A

Abbot, Robert of Chester, 15
 Adamhisheth, Mold, 31
 Alan, William son of, 16
 Alexendreslone herre, 47
 Apothecary, Richard, 34
 Appilby, Henry of, 52
 Arnway, Arneway, or Arnewey, John.
 25, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 102
 Arnewei, Robert son of, 16
 Arnewey, Agnes, 40
 Ash, William of the, 31
 Astbury, Randle of, 30
 Astons of Aston, Muniments of the
 Family of, 13—52
 Audley, Sir Henry de, 20, 26
 Audley, Sir James, 31

B

Bacforde, William de, 21
 Bacfort, William de, 21
 Back, Christopher, Constable of North-
 gate Ward, 9
 Badelsmere, Sir Guncelin, 33
 Badelsmere, Sir Gunzelin de, 36
 Badelsmer, Sir Gunzelin de, 38
 Bagenhold, Roger de, 29
 Baker, William the White, 18
 Balance Sheet, 142
 Balle [?], Alice, 37
 Balle, Elene, 20

Balle, Francis, 20
 Balle, Simon, 20
 Bamville, Alexander de, 47
 Bamville, Richard of, 18
 Bangor Iscoed, Bishop Lloyd, Rector
 of, 97
 Barber, Roger the, 37
 Barber, The Ven. E., Archdeacon of
 Chester. The Ancient Glass in
 the Church of S. Mary-on-the-
 Hill, 53—67
 — S. Werburgh and her Shrine,
 68—85
 Barowe, John, 114
 Barker, Symon le, 109
 Barnston, Hugh of, 47, 49, 50
 Bars, John, 109, 110
 Basset, 20
 Baumville, Alexander de, 44
 Beauchamp, John de, 46
 Beimond, William, 37
 Belletur, Thomas, 114
 Bello Campo, William de, 18
 Bercio, William, 22
 Bertram, Nicholas, 104
 Bikerstat, Richard de, 21
 Bikirton, Wentthlyan de, 105
 Birchall, Brichull, or Brickhull, Hugh,
 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48,
 49, 50, 51, 52
 Birkenhead, House of St. James of,
 29
 Birkenhead, R. Prior of, 16

Bishop of Sodo and Man, Doctor
 Lloyd, 89
 Blacon [*Blakene*], John the Balliff of,
 22
 Blacon, Richard of, 52
 Blakerode, Henry de, 105
 Blond, John, 38
 Blond, Mariot, 38
 Blound, Roger, 109
 Blund, John, 26, 27, 32, 108
 Bochard, Walter son of, 23
 Boen, Stephen, 48
 Bolour, Robert le, 35
 Bostok, Henry de, 107
 Bostok, Margerie, 107
 Brackeleye, Nicholas of, 39, 40
 Bradford, Jordan de, 37, 50
 Bras, Alice, 51
 Bras, Raynold, 20
 Bras, Robert, 18, 19, 50, 51
 Brasce, Robt., 30
 Breth, Richard le, 31
 Brian, Walter, 32
 Brice, Dimoc son of, 26
 Brichull[e], Hugh de, 42, 105, 106,
 107, 108
 Brien, Walter, 33, 34
 Brocstanlond, 36
 Bruera, Orme of, 35
 Bryd, Hugh, 46
 Buchard, Hugh son of, 18, 19
 Buchard, Walter, 20, 26
 Bucklow, Henry of, 32
 Bucklow, Pagan of, 26
 Bucklow, Richard of, 43
 Bunce, William, 41
 Bunse, Agnes, 50, 51
 Bunse, Alice, 50
 Bunse, Richard, 50
 Burg, Alice, 32
 Burg, Robert, 32
 Burg, Walter de, 37
 Burton, Patric of, 39

Bussel, Robert, 26
 Byberinenlis, Henry, 23
 Byran, John, 40

C

Caiep [?], Roger, 18
 Candelan, Adam, 103
 Candelan, Hugh, 35
 Candelan, Richard, 103, 105, 108
 Candelan, Robert, 33, 34, 38
 Capenhurst, Madoc de, 110
 Capenhurst, William of, 47
 Capunhurst, Madock de, 109
 Cardi, Hugh, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32
 Cardi, John, 31
 Cecily, Robert, 43, 44
 Cellar, Deyne of the, 36
 Chamberlain, Bertram, 16, 18
 Chamberlain, Orme the, 17
 Chamberlain, Robert the, 42, 48, 49
 Chamberlain, Thomas the, 20, 22
 Chaplain, John the, 29
 Chaplain, Robert the, 30
 Chaplain, Walter the, 102
 Chedle, Thomas of, 17
 Chester, Abbot of, 20
 — Abbot, Hugh, of Chester, 17
 — - Bareward Lone, 23
 — Bishop of, George Lloyd, D.D.
 (Rev. F. Sanders), 86—100
 — Bog lane, 24
 — Candles for the Altar of St.
 Peter at, 30
 — Cathedral, Quarrel between the,
 and Civic Authorities, 93, 94
 — Charles I., Proclamation of, 12
 — Charter of the Prior of, 21
 — Chancellor of the Earl of, 18
 — City Gates, Watching of, 8, 9
 — City Lantern, Disbursements for
 tending, 6
 — Claverton, Field of, 41

- Chester, Company of Glovers, 6
- Convent, Lamp for the Dormitory of the, 28
 - Copinslone, 40
 - Copplegate, Dirt placed at, 6
 - Coulone, Lane called, 104
 - Cuppin Street, 101
 - Cuppin Street [Cuppyngeslane], 114
 - Dee Mills, 6
 - Deeds, Ten Early (Henry Taylor), 101—116

Bond of Nicholas called Great to John de Stanlow, 102; Lease of William de Doncaster to Adam his son, 103; Grant of Wenthlyan de Bikirton to William de Doncastr, 105; Grant of Margerie de Bostok to William de Donecastre, 107; Grant of William de Donecastre to his son William, 108; Quitclaim of Nicholas Tyddinham to Richard Barker, 109; Grant of Jordan, Parson of the Church of St. Peter, to Richard Payn, 110; Indenture between James del Hope and Richard Smyth, 111; Grant of John del Hope to John Loker, 112; Grant of Thomas Belleur to Hugh Hurlton, 114
 - Documents (see Chester in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)
 - Earl of, 38
 - Eastgate, 22, 26, 27, 30, 102, 104, 111, 112
 - Entertainment, Items provided at, 11
 - Fair of St. Michael, 30
 - Finance, Condition of City's, 10
 - Fire-buckets, Use and cost of maintenance of, 7
 - Fishery, Moiety of, 21
 - Flag or Ancient of the City of, 11
 - Fleshmongers lone or lane, 28, 36, 51, 101, 107
 - Fordesway, land next, 41
 - Foregate Street, 101, 104
 - Foss of Chester Wall, 22
 - Gate of Wolfeld, 39, 40
 - Gerrards and Nuns lane, 20
 - Gleanings from the Muniment Room of the Town Hall of the

City of, Stuart Period (Rev. Canon Morris), 1—12

Disbursements for tending the City Lantern, 6; Regulations for cleansing the streets, 6, 7; Use and cost of maintenance of Fire-buckets, 7; Ordered that houses be covered with slates or tiles in lieu of thatch, 7; Illegal encroachment of Buildings, &c., 8; Resort of Vagrants, 8; Method of conveyance of Sick Persons, 9; Lax attendance at Council Meetings, 9; Refusal to take the oath of allegiance, 10; Condition of City's finance, 10; Items provided at an entertainment, 11; Midsummer Show, time of riot, 11; Proclamation of Charles I., 12

Chester, Glove, Wooden, ref. to use of, 11

- Glovers, Company of, 6
- Gloves, Custom of rendering, at Easter, 20, 22, 26, 31
- Goose lane, 19
- Harper of, 32
- Holy Trinity Lane, 35
- Houses, Roofs of, ordered to be covered with slates or tiles, 7
- Hugh, Earl of, 15
- Illegal Encroachment of Buildings, &c., in streets of, 8
- in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries; being notes on a number of recently discovered Documents relating to the City, dating from the year 1178 (Wm. Ferguson Irvine), 13—52

Grant of Hugh Earl of Chester to Pagan nephew [*nepoti*] of Isold, 15; Grant of Mary prioress and the humble Convent of Holy Nuns of Chester to Gilbert Lombesfot and Leceline his wife, 16; Grant of Thomas son of Richard son of Ralph to John son of Norman, 17; Grant of Hugh etc. Abbot of Chester to Simon son of Spalding [*Spaldinges*], 17; Quitclaim of Adam son of Hamon son of Herbert the Skinner to Nicholas son of Herbert, 18; Grant of Nicholas Sarazen to Sartin of Winchester, 19; Quitclaim of Agnes wife of Robert of Oxford [*de Oxonia*] to Richard son of Ernise, 19; Grant of Simon son of Elene daughter of Francis Balle to John son of Nicholas Orne, 20; Sale of the land of the Nuns and Gerrards lane to William Saracen, 20; Grant of Brother Roger Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Chester to William de Bacfort, 21; Quitclaim of Thomas Kyde to Gilbert de Spalding, 22; Grant of Henry Sacristan to Alice sister of Robert Kel, 22; Grant of Gilbert Pigot to John son of John son of

Norman, 23; Grant of Adam Mustel to Ronulph of Esseburne, 23; Grant of John son of Thurstan son of Lece to Yseude wife of Peter Colefox, 24; Quitclaim of Matilda formerly wife of John son of Thurstan son of Lece to Lady Yseude 25; Grant of Matilda de la Hay prioress of the Holy Nuns of Chester to William son of Henry the Chaplain, 25; Grant of Robert son of Simon to Walter Brian, 27; Grant of Lady Alice de la Haye Prioress of the Nuns at Chester to Margery Erneys, 28; Grant of Alan son of Hanr' Whytemay to Ythell the Tailor [*Cissor*], 28; Grant of Yseuda wife of William Pinsun to Roger son of Roger de Ragenhold, 29; Bond of Robert son of Richard Erneys to the Church of St. Peter, 30; Grant of John formerly son of Hugh the Tailor [*Cissor*] to Robert Erneys, 30; Grant of Roger of Mold Seneschal of Chester to Simon of Pulford, 31; Grant of Robert de Lene to Dore formerly wife of Hugh de Lene, 31; Quitclaim of Alice daughter of Robert de Burg to Walter Brian, 32; Grant of Warin of Croxton [*de Crocton*] to Richard of Toft, 32; Grant of William Bunce to Bertram son of Peter of Marinham, 33; Grant of William Cutler [*Cultellarius*] to Roger of Tottenham, 33; Grant of land to William Pinsun, 34; Confirmation of grant of Alice de la Haye, Prioress of the Nuns of Chester, &c., to Orme of Bruera, 35; Grant of Robert le Bolour to Robert son of Richard Erneys, 35; Agreement between Richard de Coudray and Robert Erneys, 45; Grant of Roger Tudynham to Aneline his daughter, 46; Agreement between Richard Coudray and Joan relict of Robert Erneys, 46; Agreement between Awisia wife of Gilbert of Newton and William son of the said Gilbert of Newton, 47; Grant of Richard de Collam to Richard son of Roger Wateley, 47; Grant of Alice daughter of Mabel le Wyte to Robert son of Richard Erneys, 48; Quitclaim of Alice daughter of John White to Robert son of Richard Erneys, 48; Quitclaim of John Norman to Richard son of Robert Erneys, 48; Quitclaim of Geoffrey de Dutton, Lord of Cheadle, to Richard son of Robert Erneys, 49; Quitclaim of Geoffrey de Dutton, Lord of Cheadle, to Richard son of Robert Erneys, 49; Grant of John Urkel to Richard son of Roger of Weteley, 50; Grant of Agnes and Alice Bunce to Alice wife of Robert Bras, 50; Grant of Alice Bras to Randle Peck, 51; Grant of Roger Dunfoul to Henry of Soudon [or Sondon], 51; Grant of Henry de Soudon to Raynold de Lene, 51; Grant of Hugh of Hoole to Henry of Appilby, 52; Grant of Richard de Toft to Agnes Peck, 52

Chester, James II. visit to, 11

- Judges of the Portmote of, 29
- King's Street, 107, 111, 112
- Mayors, 25—52, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114

Chester Midsummer Show, time of riot, 11

- Nuns, Prioress of the Holy, 25
- Nuns of, 25, 28, 33, 37, 41
- Nuns and Gerrards lane, 20
- Northgate, Hospital of St. John, 21
- Northgate Street, 25, 29, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 52, 101, 102, 109
- Oath of Allegiance, Refusal to take the, 10
- Pentice, Fire-buckets kept at, 7
- Peppercorns, Rendering of, 30, 41, 44
- Personis-lone, 50
- Personeslone, 50, 51
- Portmote, Judges of the, 20
- Prioress of the Nuns of, Alice de la Haye, 35
- ref. to Plague in, 6, 8
- Roodee covered by high tides, 10
- Schoulebrad londis, 36
- Selda of John Grund, 30
- Seneschal of, 31
- Sheriffs, 25—52, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114
- Sick persons, Method of conveyance of, 9
- St. Anne, Land of, 111
- St. Bridget's Lane, 40
- St. Giles', Oven of, 104, 111
- St. John, Church of, 22, 40
- — Greater Church of, 35
- — Hospital of, 114
- — Prior of the Hospital of, 21, 49, 50
- — Sacristan of the Church of, 25
- — Street, 25
- St. John's Lane, 39, 40, 105
- — Ward, Number of Bachelors and Widowers in, 9

Chester, St. Martin, 17, 21

— S. Mary-on-the-Hill, The Ancient Glass in the Church of (Ven. E. Barber, Archdeacon of Chester), 53–67

Corrosion of the Glass at York Minster, 54; Coloured Glass in Chester Cathedral, 55; Fragment of restored to, 55; In Trinity Church, 55, 56; Description of the Glass, 58–65; Use of the Rebus, 65–67

— St. Mary's, Funeral of Thomas Gamul at, 97

— — Nunnery, Collection of early deeds relating to, 14

— — Nuns, 22

— — Ward, Bachelors in, 9

— St. Michael, Fair of, 26

— St. Michael's Ward, Bachelors in, 9

— St. Peter, Austin of, 16

— — Church of, 30

— — Jordan, Parson of, 110

— — Shops against the Church of, 17

— St. Peter's, Andrew the Chaplain of, 16

— — Message in Parish of, 16

— — Nicholas Byfield at, 93

— S.S. Peter and Paul and St. Martin, 17

— S. Werburgh and her Shrine (The Ven. E. Barber, Archdeacon of Chester), 68–85

Source of information, 68; Life of S. Werburgh, 69–73; Burial places of, 73; History of the Shrine, 73–77; Description of the Shrine, 77–85; Plan of the Shrine, 84

— St. Werburgh, 37

— — Abbot and Convent of, 42, 46, 48

— — Cemetery of, 38, 48

— — City Gate of, 27

— — Gate of, 17

— — Grange of the Abbot of, 22

— — Houses belonging to, in Bog lane, 24

— — Monastery of, 104

Chester, St. Werburgh, ref. to Shops near, 17

— St. Werburgh's lane, 28, 38, 39, 112

— Streets, Regulations for Cleansing the, 6, 7

— Trinity Street, 103

— Ulnesdale, 41

— Vagrants, Resort of, 8

— Vill of, without the Walls, 22

— Wall, From the Foss of, 22

— Watergatestret, 37, 101

Childerhous, Philip de, 51

Childrehous, Philip dil, 50

Christleton, William of, 49

Cicely, Robert son of, 35, 36

Claverton, 33

Clerk, Geoffrey, 43

Clerk, Richard, 29

Cloudesdale, Roger of, 36

Cofin [?], William, 102

Coghull, Roger of, 36, 46

Colefox, Peter, 24

Colefox, Richard, 25

Collam, Margery, 47

Consuterti, Cecilia, 22

Corbyn, Ralph, 31

Corin, Geoffrey, 25

Cortenay, William de, 23

Cosin, William, 31

Cotiler, Henry le, 110

Cotingham, John, 113

Cotton, Oliver, 29

Cotyngnam, John, 111

Coucher Book, 21

Coudray, Richard de, 45, 46

Coudrey, Richard de, 43, 44

Council Meetings, 131–137

— Report of the, 137–140

Coventre, Walter de, 27

Coventry, Walter of, 22, 26

Croxton, Warin of, 32

Cumbrai, Alured de, 15

Curator and Librarian's Report, Hon.,
140, 141

Cutler, Henry the, 46

Cutler, Matilda, 33

Cutler, William, 33

D

Daniel, 18

Daresburi, Matthew de, 29

Daresbury, Matthew of, 28, 31, 32

Daresbury, Randle of, 33, 34, 35, 37,
38, 40, 42, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52

Daresbury, Robert of, 39

Darisbury, Matthew de, 102

Derby, Margery de, 104

Deye, Henry, 113

Diddisbury, Thomas de, 109

Dispenser, Thomas, 16

Dobildey, Randle, 35

Dobledai, Randle, 32

Doncaster, William of, 37, 39, 40, 45,
46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 103, 105, 107,
108, 109

Doncastr, Alice, 105

Donfoul, John, 104

Donfoul, Roger, 42, 104, 107

Donninton, Sir Thomas de, 40

Dubeldai, Randle, 16

Dubeldey, Germain, 17

Dubleday, German, 22, 23, 26

Dubleday, Randle, 24

Duke, Thurstan, Robert son of, 18

Dumville, Roger de, 36

Dunfoul, Roger, 49, 52

Dunfoull, Gilbert, 107

Dunfowyl, Roger, 51

Dunful, Roger, 43, 50

Dunham, Felicia, 43

Dunham, Thomas of, 43

Dutton, Geoffrey de, Lord of Cheadle,
49

Dyonis [?], Alice, 41

E

Eaton, Theophilus, 99

Erney, Robert son of, 17

Erneys, Dore, 26

Erneys, Joan, 46

Erneys, Margery, 28

Erneys, Raynold, 32

Erneys, Richard, 26

Erneys, Robert, 26, 30, 35, 37, 38, 40,
41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49

Erneys, Muniments of the Family of,
13—52

Erneway, Robert, 26

Erniway, John, 32

Ernway, John, 31

Esseburne [?], Ronulph of, 23

Euesham, Julian de, 104

Excursions, 120—127

Ludlow, 120—122; St. Mary-on-the-
Hill, Chester, 122; Bunbury, Acton, &c.,
123—127; Chester Castle, 128—130

Eyse, Robert, 33, 41

F

Faukes, Luce, 27

Faukes, Margery, 27

Faund, John, 26

Fewnes, William of, 31

Ffoulkes, His Honour Judge Wynne,
Obituary, 117—119

Flint Castle, Constable of, 37

Flokerisbrook, Sondwallelond, called,
46

Frednel, Stephen, 20

Freinelle, William, 25

Frend, Roger, 17

Frenelle, Stephen, 17

Freynel, Stephen, 23

Frodsham, Richard of, 29

Fulk, 18

Fulk, Roger son of, 22, 23, 26

G

Galioch, Gregory, 18
 Gardin, Andrew, 20
 Genour, Richard len, 107
 Geoffrey, Gilbert son of, 17
 Germany, Prince of, Sugar bestowed on the, 11
 Gerstan, Sir Adam de, 21
 Glass, The Ancient, in the Church of S. Mary-on-the-Hill (The Ven. E. Barber, Archdeacon of Chester), 53-67
 Gloucester, William de, 105
 Godebrother, William, 51
 Godewaic, Adam, 32
 Godewecc, Adam, 28
 Godeweit, Adam, 32
 Godeweith, Cicely, 24
 Godewet, Adam, 31
 Godeweyt, Adam, 29
 Godweyth, Richard, 50
 Goldsmith, Bartholomew the, 28
 Goldsmith, John the, 18
 Goldsmith, Mathew, 39
 Goldsmith, Nicholas, 48, 49
 Gothewyte, Adam, 34
 Grendon, Richard, 17
 Gray, Sir Raynold, 47, 49, 50
 Grey, Sir Richard de, 31
 Grund, John, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38, 39
 Gunpowder Plot, 92

H

Hamelin, 18
 Hamon, Guy, 32
 Harald, Mabel, 43
 Harald, Nicholas, 43
 Harald, Richard, 35, 48, 49, 52
 Harald, Robert, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 37, 39, 40, 48
 Harand, Robert, 33
 Harding, Ralph, 26, 30

Harper, Arthur, 32
 Harper, Ralph, 24
 Harre, Alexander, 25, 26, 27, 28
 Harre, Robert, 18, 102
 Hascard, Mabil, 41
 Haslewelle, Patric de, 36
 Haudeleg, Sir James de, 31
 Hawarden, Thomas the Clerk of, 18
 Hawarden, William of, 28
 Hay, Matilda de la, 25
 Haye, Alice de la, Prioress, 28, 35
 Headland, 36
 Heduin, 19
 Heghgreue, Thomas de, 109
 Helen, Simon, 26
 Henit' [?] of Middlewich, 23
 Hereward, Robert son of, 18
 Herneys, Reynold, 29
 Herre, Alexander, 22, 24, 32
 Herre, Hamund, 21
 Herre, Roger, 19
 Heselewalle, Sir Patric de, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49
 Heselewelle, 44
 Heslewelle, Patric de, 32
 Heswall [*Heslewalle*], Richard Clerk of, 18
 Heswall [*Halsall*], George Lloyd, Rector of, 89
 Hokenhull, Robert de, 20, 35
 Holdebur, William son of, 15
 Honte, Elyas le, 44
 Hoole, Hugh of, 24
 Hoole, Robert of, 27, 29, 32, 39
 Hope, James del, 111, 112
 Hoper, John le, 36
 Hose, Elen, 41
 Hose, John, 41
 Hose, Thomas, 33, 41
 Host and Chalice, Elevation of, 30
 Hudard, 19
 Hugh, Abbot of Chester, 17
 Hugh, Earl of Chester, 15
 Hugh, Master, the Younger, 17

Hugh. Thomas son of, 36, 44

Hul, Warin del, 41

Hulkel, John, 27

Hulkell, John, 32

Hulton, Robert de, 109, 110

Hunte, Eliot le, 36

Hunter, Alice, 38

Hunter, Elias the, 36, 45

Hunter, John, 38

Hurel, Alexander, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35,
37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45, 46, 47, 50,
51, 52, 104, 105, 107, 108

Hurkel, John, 22

Hurkil, John son of, 24

Hurlton, Hugh, 114

Huyton, Robt. of, 31

I

Idhel, Robert brother of, 47

Irvine, Wm. Fergusson.—Chester in
the Twelfth and Thirteenth Cen-
turies; being Notes on a number
of recently discovered Documents
relating to the City, dating from
the year 1178, 13—52

Ivo [*Yvonis*], Austin, 20, 26

J

Jan, Hugh son of, 18

Jordan, Parson of the Church of St.
Peter, 110

K

Kegworth, Richard de, 19

Kegworthe, Richard of, 39

Kel, Alice, 22

Kel, Robert, 22

Kend, Simon of, 18

Kenewrevck, William son of, 35

Kent, Gregory of, 18

Kent, Nicholas of, 18, 26

Kent, Simon de, 20, 26, 27

Kibus, Hugh, 18

Kide, Hugh, 28

Kirkeby, Robert Clerk of, 18

Knaresbure, Richard de, 28

Knaresburgh, Richard of, 40

Kyde, Thomas, 22

L

Lancelyn, 29

Lece, John, 29

Lece, Thurstan, 29

Lecy, Hugh de, 20

Leen, Raynold of, 36, 48, 51

Leighton, William of, 43, 44

Lely, William, 111

Len, Hugh de, 26

Lene, Dore, 31

Lene, Hugh de, 31

Lene, Raynold, 51

Lene, Reginal de, 107

Lene, Robert de, 31

Lewede, Wm. le, 31

Ley, Hugh, 36

Linch [?], Thomas de, 25

Lineth, Walter, 23

Liuerpul, Richard de, 21

Llanrwst, George Lloyd, Rector of,
88

Lloyd, Anne, Will of, 98, 99

Lloyd Family, Pedigree of, 98

Lloyd, George, D.D., Bishop of Ches-
ter, 1605-1616 (Rev. F. Sanders),
86—100

Lloyd, Rowland, buried in Chester
Cathedral, 91

Lodi, John, 19

Loker, John, 112

Lollote, Thomas, 29

Lolot, Thomas, 29

Loloth, Robert, 30

Lombesfot, Gilbert, 16

Lombesfot, Philip, 16

Luloth, 18

Lundris, Athelard of, 18
Luvetot, Richard de, 16

M

Macclesfelde, Robert de, 108
"Machinator," Richard, 41
Maclisfeld, Robert of, 52, 105, 107
Maliracio Kodd [?], 19
Malpas, Barons of, 29
Man, Sodor and, Doctor Lloyd.
Bishop of, 89 - 91
Maneware, John, 51
Marecall, John, 105
Marescall, Gilbert, 27
Marinham, 33
Marinham, Peter, 33
Martin, Emma, 34
Martin, William, 34
Masci, Richard de, 43, 44, 46, 47
Mascie, Richard de, 49
Mascy, Richard de, 31
Masey, William, 113
Massel', Geoffrey son of, 18
Mazelin, Geoffrey, 23
Mayler, John, 32
Maynur, Richard le, 23
Meols, Hugh of, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38,
40, 41, 42, 45
Mercenarius, Robert, 24
Mercer, Bertram, 17, 19, 20
Mercer, Richard le, 105
Mercer, Robert le, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29,
30, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 45, 47, 51
Mercer, Robert le Prude, 24
Mercer, Robert the Prude, 28
Mercer, Robert the Wise, 24
Mercer, William, 18
Meyler, John, 48, 102
Meyller, John, 49
Middille, William, 50
Midle, William of, 51
Mill, Robert of the, 41
Miller, Adam, 42

Miller, David, 43, 46, 51, 52, 106
Mold, 31
Mold, Roger of, 31
More, Alice de la, 107
Morris, Rev. Canon.—Gleanings from
the Muniment Room of the Town
Hall of the City of Chester (Stuart
Period), 4—12
Morsetun, Vill of, 17
Mosse, Alan de, 21
Mulet, William, 41
Mundre, Elias of, 36
Mustel, Adam, 23
Mustel, Sir Henry, 23

N

Newcastle, John of, 24
Newton juxta Chester, Names of fields
at, 35, 43, 44, 45
Newton, Awisia, 47
Newton, Gilbert, 43, 44, 52
Newton, Kenewrevck, 35
Newton, Robert, 44, 46, 47
Newton, William, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49
Nicholas called Great, 102
Nobil, Robert, 40
Nobille, Richard le, 50, 51
Noble, John, 23, 28, 29
Norman, John, 31, 48
Norman, Luke, 17
Norris of Speke, Muniments of the
Family of, 13—52
Northman, John son of the, 18

O

Obituary, His Honour Judge Wynne
Ffoulkes, 117—119
Orebi, Richard de, 25
Orne, John, 20
Orne, Nicholas, 20
Orrebi, Philip de, 18
Orreby, Philip de, 17

Oscot, Thurstan son of, 18
 Osgot, 22
 Oxford, Agnes, 19
 Oxford, Earl of, List of items for entertainment of, 11
 Oxford, Randle of, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28
 Oxford, William, 18

P

Pagan, 22
 Pagan, Beatrice, 27, 30
 Pagan, John, 32
 Pagan, the Sheriff, 15
 Pain, Richard son of, 18
 Page, Adam, 39
 Pain, Nicholas, 43
 Pain, Richard, 24, 35
 Painter, William, 25
 Palmer, Nigel the, 23
 Palmer, Wiht, 25
 Panyers, Richard dil, 37
 Patric, William, 15, 29
 Payn, Hugh, 50
 Payn, Richard, 110
 Payn, Nicholas, 37, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51
 Pec, Jan, 18
 Peck, Agnes, 52
 Peck, Hugh, 42
 Peck, John, 42, 46, 52
 Peck, Randle, 51
 Person, John, 18
 Person, Roger, 18
 Pewter Plates, Item for scouring 25 dozen, 11
 Phales, Simon, 18
 Picot, 19
 Pigas, Geoffrey, 48
 Pigot, Gilbert, 23
 Pigot, William, 23
 Pilgrim, Guy the, 19
 Pilkington, John, 113
 Pincel, Walter, 23

Pinchbeck, Robert, 17
 Pinson, William, 25, 35
 Pinsun, William, 29, 34
 Pinsun, Yseuda, 29
 Pointel, Walter, 24
 Porter, Robert le, 23
 Portmoot of, 29
 Prez, Richard de, 40
 Priest, Hugh son of the, 18
 Primate [*Prymate*], Lord, Wine bestowed on the, 11
 Proudemercer, Robert le, 107
 Provence[?], Simon of, 50
 Puddington, Ralph of, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49
 Pulford, Anketil of, 18
 Pulford, Simon of, 31
 Pulle, James de, 44

R

Ralph, Hugh son of, 18
 Randle Holme [*Hulme*], Persistent encroachment of buildings by, 8
 Rault, 16
 Rauson, William, 111
 Raynold, Robert son of, 16
 Recusants, Stay of proceedings against, 92
 Rhuddlan, Henry, 28
 Rhuddlan, Richard of, 28, 30, 38
 Richard, Harald, 40
 Ridford, Frambald de, 16
 Rithale, Robert de, 20
 Roald, Alan son of, 18
 Rochester, Richard of, 18
 Rossel, Richard, 108
 Ruddlan [*Ruthelen*], Martin of, 18
 Ruddlan, Richard of, 27
 Rudon, John of, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50
 Ruffi, Raynold, 45
 Russel, Andrew, 18
 Russell, Richard, 109
 Ruton, John of, 44

S

Sadler, William, 19
 Sanders, Rev. F. — George Lloyd,
 D.D., Bishop of Chester, 1605-
 1616, 86
 Saracen, Gilbert, 26
 Saracen, Ralph, 16, 17, 19
 Saracen, Richard, 26, 37
 Saracen, Stephen, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29,
 31, 32
 Saracen, William, 20, 22
 Sarazen, Nicholas, 19
 Sarazen, Ralph, 19
 Sarazen, Robert, 19
 Sarazen, William, 25
 Saughal, Peter of, 47
 Seals, 12th and 13th Centuries, 38
 Sebrem, William, 33
 Shrewsbury, Adam of, 32
 Shrewsbury, Bertram of, 26, 27
 Shrewsbury, William Sadler of, 19
 Shropshire, John of, 48
 Simon, Robert, 27
 Siston, William de, 29
 Skinner, Luce, 30
 Skinner, Philip, 30
 Slop, William, 18
 Smith, Raynold the, 26
 Smith, Roger the, 18
 Smyth, Richard, 111
 Sotheworth, John, 111, 113
 Soudon [or Sondon], Henry of, 51
 Spalding, Gilbert de, 22
 Spalding, Simon son of William, 17
 Spicer, Robert le, 107
 St. Botolph, William of, 22
 Stanlawe, Aluered of, 48
 Stanlow, John de, 102
 Stanlow, Randle of, 50
 Stanlow, Thurstan, 102
 Stanton, Benedict de, 107, 108
 Stape, Hugh, 18
 Stapley, Peter of, 23

Statement of Receipts and Payments,
 142

Stirchelegh[?], Richard of, 30
 Stocton, Oliver of, 29, 32
 Stoctone, Oliver de, 29
 Stokeport, Sir Robert de, 29
 Strangewas, Thomas de, 109
 Streche, Richard, 31
 Subprior, Hugh the, 17
 Sutherne, John le, 36
 Swan, William, 41
 Swineherd, Richard, 17
 Sysors, William le, 35

T

Tailor, John, 26, 30
 Tailor, Robert, 27, 32
 Tailor, Stephan, 31, 38, 48, 49
 Tailor, Thomas, 42
 Tailor, Ythell, 28
 Tailur, Hugh, 28
 Tanner, Alan, 35
 Tarvin, Allan of, 42
 Tarvin, Felicia, 39
 Tarvin, Richard of, 41, 52
 Tarvin, Robert of, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39,
 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 50, 51, 52
 Tax on Clergy for the equipment of
 Soldiers, 95
 Taylor, Henry. — Ten Early Chester
 Deeds, 101—116
 Taylor, Wymarc, 26
 Teruen, Robert de, 104
 Teruin, Geoffrey de, 105
 Thelewall, Henry de, 105
 Thomasson, William, 111
 Thornton-le-Moors, Bishop Lloyd,
 Rector of, 97
 Thowe, Robert, 23
 Throsle, Roger, 28
 Throsleberd, Andrew, 36
 Throsleberd, Beatrice, 36
 Throslebur', Andrew, 32

Thurb, 21

Thurstan, 21

Thurstan, John, 24

Thurstan, Robert son of, 20, 26, 32

Todenham, 39, 41, 45

Todenham, Richard of, 39, 41, 45

Todenham, Roger, 41, 45

Toft, Alina de, 42

Toft, Richard of, 32, 46, 52

Torald, John, 36

Torald, William, 49

Tottenham, 33, 34

Tottenham, Roger of, 33, 34

Toui, 18

Trafford, Allan of, 33, 43

Trafford, Oliver of, 30

Trafford, William of, 49

Troutbek, William, 114

Tudenham, Roger of, 43, 44

Tudinham, Richard, 39

Tudinham, Roger of, 39, 48, 49

Tudynham, Richard of, 42

Tudynham, Roger, 42, 46, 52

Turner, Alexander the, 35, 38

Turner, John the, 48

U

Ulkel, John, 25, 39

Ulkil, John, 28, 35

Upton, Andrew of, 36

Urkel, John, 23, 50

V

Venell, William son of Walter of the,
16

Verroure, Simon le, 48

Vintner, Adam, 26

Vintner, Lawrence, 31

W

Wade, Henry, 110

Wallasey, William of, 17

Warburton, Robert, 9

Warner, Ralph fitz, 15

Warwyk, John de, 107

Wateley, Roger of, 47

Waterfal, William de, 108

Waterfall, William de, 107

Waterman, Robert son of William
the, 39

Wermyncham, Roger, 113

Weston, Robert of, 17

Weteley, Roger, 50

Wheteley, Richard de, 109, 110

White, John le, 45

White, Mabel, 45

Whytemay, Alan, 28

Wicc', John de, 18

Winchester, Sarlin of, 19

Wistaneston, Sir William de, 29

With, Hamo son of, 16, 18

Wode, Adam del, 109

Wolf [*Lupus*], Hugh, 18

Woodrow, John, 37

Wright, Richard, 114

Wybunbury, Thomas the Clerk of, 29

Wych, Richard de, 102

Wyco, Robert de, 23

Wymarc, 30

Wyrehale, Richard, 114

Wyte, Mabel le, 48

Y

Yale, Thomas, 99

Ychel, Robert, 52

Yethelle, Robert, 47

Yrenmonger, Margery, 45

Yrenmonger, Reynold, 45

Ythel, Robert, 51, 52, 104

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